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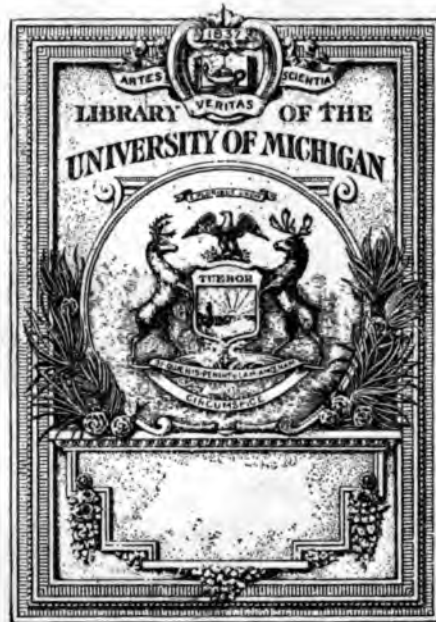
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## THE COINS OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. OF YORK.

BY H. ALEXANDER PARSONS.

**E**ANBALD II. was, prior to his elevation to the archiepiscopate, a priest of the Church of York. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records his consecration as archbishop under the year 796, immediately after the death of the first prelate of the name, and he is shown in the same source to have received the pallium in the following year, 797. Most of the later chroniclers follow these dates, and it may therefore be regarded as tolerably certain that they are correct. It is otherwise in respect to the year of Eanbald's death, for no record of this appears to be extant. The time historically estimated, however, ranges from A.D. 808 to 812.

In the year 797, Archbishop Eanbald II. is recorded as having actively participated in the restoration of the see of Canterbury, the dignity of which had been much impaired during the reign of King Offa of Mercia in order that the new primacy at Lichfield might be aggrandised. In this work of restitution, Eanbald was the collaborator of Æthelheard, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had appealed to Rome in the matter. The case was also presented to Cænwulf, the successor of Offa, and he was persuaded by the two prelates to refer the question to the Pope, with the result that the new archiepiscopal see of Lichfield was abolished.

In the year 798 the northern archbishop convened a great synod at Finchale in Durham, at which, amongst other things, was ordered the adoption of the confession of faith of the Five Councils as promulgated by Archbishop Theodore. These activities, in addition to the usual work of preaching and consecration, and especially his association with his brother Primate, indicate that Eanbald II. very actively

entered into the duties of his office, and they are quoted mainly to show that, as he so energetically discharged his ordinary functions he is unlikely to have been slow to exercise his special privileges. Amongst these latter must be numbered that of issuing money for his diocese in his own name, and for the profit of his office. This is important to the present discussion because, owing to the occurrence of two archbishops named Eanbald, one occupying the primacy at York immediately after the other, doubt arises as to which prelate struck the coins bearing the name of Eanbald. The late Mr. Jonathan Rashleigh considered that most of these stycas were issued by the first of the two archbishops in question, who was raised to the see of York in A.D. 780, but he tentatively placed those specimens which bear the name of the moneyer Eodwulf to the second Eanbald on account of their sharp and fresh appearance.<sup>1</sup> This explanation is not very convincing, because the accident of treasure trove generally accounts for the new condition of the coins which come down to us. That is to say, coins may be buried immediately after issue, although the types to which they belong may be current subsequently for a lengthy period. Such a hoard, therefore, when brought to light in our times, would present unworn specimens of the type. Lord Grantley, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1897, did not consider, at the time, that the stycas of Eanbald I. and II. could be separated. Other writers, for example Hawkins, the authors of the *British Museum Catalogue*, Anglo-Saxon series,<sup>2</sup> and Major Creeke<sup>3</sup> have placed all the stycas to Eanbald II., but without furnishing any particular reasons for so doing, except in the case of the first named, who based his opinion on the fact that all the types and moneyers appear also on the coins of King Eanred, during whose reign Archbishop Eanbald died. No satisfactory conclusion is, however, derivable from the types of the coins because the principal designs on those of Eanbald, for example, a circle of dots enclosing a pellet, a cross, or a pellet, occur also on the coins of the kings who held the throne during the time of Eanbald I., namely,

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, Second Series, vol. ix.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, 1905.

Ælfwald I., A.D. 778–788, Osred II., A.D. 788–790, and Æthelred I., second regnal period, A.D. 790–796.

A considerable amount of evidence in favour of an attribution to Eanbald II. is, however, derivable from the moneyers' names on the coins under consideration, since all the four known, namely, Æthelred, Cynwulf, Eadwulf, and Edilveard are found on the stycas of Eanred, whilst none of the four appears on the money of the kings who reigned during the time of Eanbald I. On the coins of the moneyer Cynwulf the letter y in the name appears with a line in the centre and without the lower stroke, thus,  $\Psi$ . A moneyer of the same name and using the same runic  $\Psi$  is in evidence also on the coins of King Eanred. The names may possibly relate to one person who served under both Eanred and Eanbald, but, in any case, the use of the unusual form  $\Psi$  of the runic Y under king and prelate affords evidence of contemporary or nearly contemporary issue, and the appropriation of coins of at least this moneyer bearing the name of Eanbald on the obverse to the second prelate of the name is practically certain.

In the introduction to the *British Museum Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*,<sup>1</sup> considerable attention is paid to the interpretation of this curious letter, which appears as  $\Psi$  on some of the Eanred coins, but more usually as  $\Psi$ . The first form is well known as the later runic M, but as the writer of the catalogue justly remarks, the position of the letter on the coins must presuppose a vowel, and the alternative names of Canwulf, Cunwulf, Cynwulf, and Cœnwulf are suggested for the moneyer in question. In these later runes both forms, when put in the middle of a word, are generally used in the sense of Y, and although the letter V is sometimes in evidence on the coins in question, the omission of the central stroke must, it is thought, be due to accident in these instances, and all the forms  $\Psi$ ,  $\Psi$ , and  $\Psi$  are most likely intended to indicate the runic Y, making the moneyer's name Cynwulf.

But although the evidence of the names of the moneyers and of the runic letter on the coins of the moneyer Cynwulf is strongly in favour of an attribution of the entire series to the second archbishop of that name, there is another feature in the coinage of the time,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. lxxxviii.



so far unapplied to the question at issue, which furnishes still stronger support to the appropriation of these stycas to Eanbald II. This feature is the metal of which the money is, in many cases, composed, for a noticeable fact in the coins of Eanbald and Eanred is that base silver specimens are frequently in evidence. Down to the period under discussion the stycas, as distinct from the sceattas, were all issued in copper or brass, with a solitary exception of the time of Ælfwald I., and that exception may be readily accounted for by the fact that it was in the reign of Ælfwald I. that the silver standard of the sceattas was changed for the copper or brass standard of the stycas, the base silver styca known being issued in error or as an intermediate issue at the time of the change. During the episcopate of Archbishop Eanbald II. and the reign of King Eanred there ensued, however, a period when the base silver stycas became quite a feature in the coinage, a detail which practically disappeared after Eanred's time, for the appearance of these anomalous coins later is of excessively rare occurrence.

The use of silver in the manufacture of the stycas serves to prove that those coins of Eanbald and of Eanred in which it is in evidence follow each other or are contemporaneous. I think it is probable that they were issued at the same time, for this reason. The use of silver for the coinage was not connected with the issue of a different denomination of coins,<sup>1</sup> and therefore we should not expect to see a regular continuation of the practice as would be the case if the silver stycas indicated a separate class of money. It would appear, therefore, that at a certain time in the reign of Eanred there was a temporary scarcity of copper and brass for the coinage, or a plethora of silver, and the higher metal was consequently used with the lower. The same expedient would naturally be adopted in the Archbishop's mint, and so it is probable that the issue of the base silver coins of Eanbald and Eanred occurred at the same time. The reason for these base silver stycas has always been a bone of contention amongst numismatists. Major Creeke, in a contribution to the *Numismatic Chronicle*,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1883, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Second Series, Vol. xx.

considered that they represented a separate denomination of coins. Mr. Montagu, however, in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1883 mentioned above, brought forward cogent reasons for dismissing this idea. But the solution I have suggested, namely, that there was a temporary scarcity of copper, or a plethora of silver, at the period under review—and at other times, although to a less degree—which caused the mint officials to use silver partly in the manufacture of the stycas, appears to have escaped notice, perhaps because of its simplicity, or because one is apt to be obsessed by the modern relative value of silver and copper. In the days when Britain was divided between hostile peoples, however, and when foreign trade was of a very restricted nature, the quantities of individual metals available must have varied considerably through lack of proper means for the regulation of supply, and it might well be that at certain times the amount of silver in hand in Northumbria for manufacturing purposes was relatively greater than the supplies of copper. It must be remembered also that there was no silver currency, as such, at the time in Northumbria for which supplies of that metal would be necessary. It has been suggested that finds of Roman silver and copper coins supplied intact to the mint may have accounted for the presence of the superior metal in the Northumbrian coins under notice. The suggestion is quite feasible, but it in no way invalidates the economic explanation put forward, which would of course be the root-reason for using the Roman silver treasure trove.

This question of the metal used for the stycas leads us to that of the leaden specimens which are sometimes to be seen. On the intrinsic merits of the case, there is no real ground for supposing that lead might not have entered into the manufacture of the Northumbrian stycas. In fact, all metals, not excluding gold, seem to have been pressed into the service for the Northumbrian coinage of the time. By the courtesy of Mr. Nathan Heywood, I have been enabled to examine some of these leaden stycas, but I must admit that their genuineness is open to very grave doubt. One was identical with a copper specimen in my collection and seemed to be a skilful cast from it; and the fact that the coins appear to be of pure lead also goes against them.

The use of silver in the coinage must have been considerable at the particular period in Northumbrian history which is the subject of this paper, for there is a far greater percentage of base silver coins of Eanred and of Eanbald than of any other potentate or prelate in the styca period. This fact tends to prove that the Eanbald coins of base silver belong to the second prelate of the name, and the copper specimens would naturally follow on account of identical type and workmanship. Admitting the simultaneous issue, for economic reasons, of the base silver stycas of Eanbald and Eanred, an important historical deduction is possible, namely, that however uncertain the date of Eanbald's death may be, he was alive until after Eanred's accession to the Northumbrian throne in A.D. 808.

Indeed, I am inclined to think that the coins of Eanbald II. prove, in a general way, that he held the primacy of York for some years into the reign of Eanred because, in addition to the temporary use of silver common to both king and prelate, the general character of the workmanship, apart from designs, of the Eanbald stycas is similar to that of the well-made coins of Eanred, and it is essentially different from that of the badly-made issues of Eardwulf and Ælfwald II., who occupied the Northumbrian throne during the greater part of the historically known period of Eanbald's episcopate, that is, from A.D. 796 to 808. On the grounds of workmanship most, if not all, of the Eanbald stycas would be posterior to those of Ælfwald II. and, as they are fairly plentiful, they probably represent an issue of a considerable period into the reign of Eanred II. The earlier date, 808, historically suggested for the death of Eanbald is, therefore, on the evidence of the coins, unlikely to be correct.

It is also significant that no coins of Wulfsige, who succeeded Eanbald II., are known, although specimens of Vigmund, who succeeded Wulfsige as prelate in A.D. 831, are plentiful. The longer Eanbald II. can be shown to have held the episcopate of York the less remarkable would be the absence of coins of Wulfsige, for a lack of which there is apparently no other reason than brevity of office. Mr. Andrew informs me that he can find no records of Archbishop Wulfsige prior to A.D. 830, and the absence of coins tends to show that this should be, approxi-

mately, the date of accession of Wulfsige to the primacy of York. Whether Eanbald II. was alive until that date is still open to doubt, but it would have been unusual, at the time, to have a long interval between the death of one archbishop and the accession of another. That the moneys of Eanbald II. are few is no evidence that the coinage did not extend over a considerable period. To quote another, and more marked, instance of this it may be mentioned that the coins of Archbishop Wulfhere, who held the see of York from A.D. 854 to the end of the styca period in A.D. 867, and beyond, to A.D. 900 approximately, disclose only one moneyer's name.

Eardwulf was restored in A.D. 808 and reigned conjointly with his son Eanred until A.D. 810. It seems unlikely that Eanred commenced to coin until the latter date and, if that is so, Eanbald's coins of similar workmanship would date from A.D. 810 and after.

Before giving a list of the coins of Eanbald II. it is necessary to correct a misattribution of one of them. This is a variety of which very few examples are known and hitherto it has been placed amongst the coins of Æthelred II. It discloses several features which call for more than a passing notice, and a description of the coin is as follows:—

*Obverse.*—+EANBALD retrograde. Circle of dots enclosing a pellet.

*Reverse.*—+AEDILRED. Circle of dots enclosing a pellet. Fig. 1.

H. A. Parsons.

Another specimen is figured in Ruding—Plate X, No. 29, and a third example is in the possession of Mr. Nathan Heywood, who informs me that it was found at Ulleskelf, near Tadcaster, with eight coins of Archbishop Eanbald. The two latter pieces vary slightly from the coin in my possession. Doubt of the attribution of these stycas arises on two points: (1) the name on one side is that of two archbishops of York, that on the other of two kings of Northumbria; (2) no title either of archbishop or of king appears on the coins.

Mr. Fairless, writing in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VII, on a find of stycas at York, suggested that the coins were struck on the joint authority of both king and archbishop. The only combination of king and prelate possible would be that of Eanbald I. and Æthelred I.

in his second regnal period, A.D. 790 to 796, but the character of the money of this period<sup>1</sup> is so essentially different from that of the coins under notice that they can scarcely be considered contemporary.

From the time Mr. Fairless wrote until now it seems tacitly and without explanation or discussion to have been assumed that the coins are of King Æthelred II., and the name Eanbald that of a moneyer.

There are, however, several reasons which incline me to think that they are more likely to belong to Archbishop Eanbald II. than to King Æthelred II. Firstly, the name Eanbald is otherwise unknown, as a moneyer, under any of the kings of Northumbria who struck stycas, whereas the name of Æthelred is in evidence as a moneyer on coins of Eardwulf, A.D. 796–806, who was contemporary with Eanbald II., Eanred, A.D. 808–840, and Æthelred II., A.D. 840–9. Therefore the balance of evidence to be derived from the two names on the coins is in favour of the assumption that Æthelred is the moneyer's name.

Secondly, the absence of title of king or archbishop, whether represented by one letter or more, is an early characteristic which, although rare on the stycas of Æthelred II., having regard to their great number, is quite a usual feature of the early issues, including those undoubtedly of Eanbald the archbishop.

Thirdly, the design of a circle of dots enclosing a pellet is one of the most common of the devices adopted by the moneyers of Eanbald II.

Lastly, these stycas are of base silver, and this is a circumstance which very strongly militates against the previous supposition that they belong to King Æthelred II. because, whereas base silver coins of this monarch are very rare, they are common amongst the stycas of Eanbald II., and comparatively so in the case of King Eanred, whose occupation of the throne in part overlapped the primacy of Archbishop Eanbald. Having regard, therefore, to the names on the coins, to the absence of title, and to the kind of metal used, I venture to think we are justified in allocating the stycas under discussion to Archbishop Eanbald II. instead of to King Æthelred II.

<sup>1</sup> Coins of Æthelred I. of Northumbria, *British Numismatic Journal*, 1910.

The following is a list of the readings of the coins of Eanbald II., with the obverse and reverse inscriptions associated together, and with an indication of the metal employed. It is thought that this will be a more useful form of reference than the method adopted in the former catalogue printed in this Journal in 1905. It has not been possible to utilize this latter list and Ruding's illustrations of the Eanbald stycas, since those of base silver and copper are not differentiated; but all the moneyers and types there represented will be found in the present catalogue.

Such slight variations as the unbarring or barring of the letter A, or the addition of a pellet between the letters of the inscriptions, have not been included as separate readings, for it is not considered that these slight varieties have any special significance. The retrograding of parts of the inscriptions due to bad workmanship has also, for the sake of clearness, been omitted, but if the complete legend is retrograde this is indicated.

My thanks are due to the aid afforded to me by Lord Grantley and Mr. Nathan Heywood.

#### TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.

| No. | Metal. | Obverse. |              | Reverse. |              |
|-----|--------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
|     |        | Type.    | Inscription. | Type.    | Inscription. |



FIG. I.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER ÆTHELRED.

H. A. PARSONS.

|   |        |                                 |                       |                                 |          |
|---|--------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| 1 | Æ base | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EANBALD (retrograde) | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +ÆDILRED |
| 2 | Æ base | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD              | Ditto annulet                   | +ÆDILRED |
| 3 | Æ base | Cross ... ..                    | +EANBALD (retrograde) | Ditto pellet                    | +ÆDILRED |

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

| No. | Metal. | Obverse. |              | Reverse. |              |
|-----|--------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
|     |        | Type.    | Inscription. | Type.    | Inscription. |



FIG. 2.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER CYNWULF.  
H. A. PARSONS.

|    |   |                                 |               |                                 |                      |
|----|---|---------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
| 4  | Æ | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EANBALD AREP | Cross of five pellets           | +EUVNLF              |
| 5  | Æ | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP | Ditto five pellets              | +EUVNLF              |
| 6  | Æ | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | EVVAALF (retrograde) |
| 7  | Æ | Ditto pellet                    | +FNBALD APER  | Cross ... ..                    | +EVANVLF             |
| 8  | Æ | Ditto cross                     | +ENBALD AREP  | Cross of five pellets           | +EUVNLF              |
| 9  | Æ | Ditto cross                     | +FNBALD APER  | Cross ... ..                    | +EVANVLF             |
| 10 | Æ | Ditto annulet                   | +EANBALD AREP | Cross of five pellets           | +EUVVLF              |
| 11 | Æ | Cross of five pellets           | +ENDALD AER   | Ditto five pellets              | EVANVLF              |
| 12 | Æ | Ditto five pellets              | +ENDALD AER   | Pellet ... ..                   | CVNWLF               |
| 13 | Æ | Cross ... ..                    | +ENDALD AEP   | Cross of five pellets           | +EUVNALF             |
| 14 | Æ | Cross ... ..                    | +ENDALD AER   | Ditto five pellets              | +EUVNALF             |
| 15 | Æ | Cross ... ..                    | +ENDALD AER   | Pellet ... ..                   | CVNALF               |

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

| No. | Metal. | Obverse. |              | Reverse. |              |
|-----|--------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
|     |        | Type.    | Inscription. | Type.    | Inscription. |



FIG. 3.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER EADWULF.

H. A. PARSONS.

|    |        |                                 |                            |                                 |          |
|----|--------|---------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|----------|
| 16 | Æ      | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EANBALD AREP              | Cross ...                       | +EADWLF  |
| 17 | Æ base | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP              | Cross ...                       | +EADWLF  |
| 18 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP              | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EADWLF  |
| 19 | Æ base | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP              | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWLF  |
| 20 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP              | Ditto pellet                    | +EAEWLF  |
| 21 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | EANBALD AREP               | Ditto pellet                    | +AEDWLF  |
| 22 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AREP              | Ditto pellet                    | +EADLW+P |
| 23 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD ARE               | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWLF  |
| 24 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD                   | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWLF  |
| 25 | Æ      | Circle enclosing pellet         | +EANBALD ARE               | Circle enclosing pellet         | +EADWLF  |
| 26 | Æ base | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD                   | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWOLF |
| 27 | Æ base | Ditto cross                     | EBANALD AREP (retrograde)  | Cross ...                       | +EADWLF  |
| 28 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | +EBANALD ARER (retrograde) | Circle enclosing cross          | +EADWLRF |
| 29 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | ANALDAREREB                | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWOLF |
| 30 | Æ base | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EANBALD ARE               | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EADWLF  |
| 31 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD ARE               | Ditto pellet                    | +EADWLF  |



TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

| No. | Metal.  | Obverse.                        |              | Reverse.                       |                          |
|-----|---------|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
|     |         | Type.                           | Inscription. | Type.                          | Inscription.             |
| 32  | Æ       | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EANBALD ARE | Circle of dots enclosing cross | +EADWLFO                 |
| 33  | Æ       | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD ARE | Annulet and pellet             | +EADWLF                  |
| 34  | Æ       | Cross of five pellets           | +EANBALD+    | Pellet ... ..                  | +EADWLF                  |
| 35  | Æ       | Cross ... ..                    | +EANBALD     | Cross ... ..                   | +EADWLF                  |
| 36  | Æ       | Pellet ... ..                   | +EANBALD+    | Pellet ... ..                  | +EADWLF                  |
| 37  | Æ       | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EANBALD AR  | Circle of dots enclosing cross | +EODWLF                  |
| 38  | AR base | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD AB  | Ditto cross                    | +EODWLF                  |
| 39  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANPAID AB  | Ditto pellet                   | +EODWLF                  |
| 40  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD     | Ditto cross                    | +E+ODWLF<br>(retrograde) |
| 41  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD     | Cross ... ..                   | +EODWLF                  |
| 42  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD     | Cross ... ..                   | +EODWLF                  |
| 43  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD     | Cross ... ..                   | +EWLAFD                  |
| 44  | Æ       | Circle enclosing pellet         | +EANBALD     | Circle of dots enclosing cross | +E+ODWLF<br>(retrograde) |
| 45  | Æ       | Ditto pellet                    | +EANBALD ARE | Circle enclosing pellet        | +EODWLF                  |
| 46  | AR base | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EANBALD AR  | Circle of dots enclosing cross | +EODWLF                  |
| 47  | Æ       | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD AR  | Ditto cross                    | +EODWLF                  |
| 48  | Æ       | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD     | Pellet ... ..                  | +EODWLF                  |
| 49  | Æ       | Pellet ... ..                   | +EANBALD     | Circle enclosing cross         | +EODWLF                  |
| 50  | Æ       | Cross .. ..                     | +EANBAD AR   | Ditto pellet                   | +EODWLF                  |
| 51  | AR base | Cross ... ..                    | EANBALD      | Ditto pellet                   | +EAOD+WLF                |
| 52  | Æ       | Cross ... ..                    | EANBALD      | Cross ... ..                   | +EAOD+WLF                |

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

| No. | Metal. | Obverse.  |              | Reverse.                        |                      |
|-----|--------|-----------|--------------|---------------------------------|----------------------|
|     |        | Type.     | Inscription. | Type.                           | Inscription.         |
| 53  | Æ base | Cross ... | +EANGALD     | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EODWLF (retrograde) |
| 54  | Æ base | Cross ... | +EANGALD     | Ditto cross of pellets          | +EODWLF              |
| 55  | Æ      | Cross ... | EANBALD      | Pellet ...                      | +EODWLF              |



FIG. 4.—STYCA OF ARCHBISHOP EANBALD II. BY THE MONEVER EDILVEARD.

H. A. PARSONS.

|    |        |                                 |              |                                 |           |
|----|--------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 56 | Æ      | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | EANBALD ARCE | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EDILVARD |
| 57 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | EANBALD ARC  | Ditto cross                     | +EDILVARD |
| 58 | Æ      | Ditto pellet                    | EANBALD ARC  | Ditto pellet                    | +EDILVARD |
| 59 | Æ base | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD AR  | Ditto cross                     | +EDILVARD |
| 60 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD AR  | Ditto cross                     | +EDILVARD |
| 61 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | +EYNBYLD VR  | Ditto cross                     | +EDILVVRD |
| 62 | Æ      | Circle enclosing cross          | +EANBALD AR  | Ditto cross                     | +EDILVARD |
| 63 | Æ      | Ditto cross                     | +EANBALD AR  | Circle enclosing cross          | +EDILVARD |
| 64 | Æ      | Circle of dots enclosing star   | +EYNBALD V   | Ditto cross                     | +EDIVARD  |
| 65 | Æ      | Ditto star                      | +EYNBYLD V   | Circle of dots enclosing pellet | +EDILVARD |

TYPES AND INSCRIPTIONS OF COINS OF EANBALD II.—*continued.*

| No. | Metal. | Obverse.                        |              | Reverse.                        |              |
|-----|--------|---------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------|--------------|
|     |        | Type.                           | Inscription. | Type.                           | Inscription. |
| 66  | Æ base | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD VR  | Cross ...                       | +EDILVARD    |
| 67  | Æ      | Cross ...                       | +EYNBALD V   | Cross ...                       | +EDILVARD    |
| 68  | Æ base | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Cross ...                       | +EDILVEARD   |
| 69  | Æ      | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Cross ...                       | +EDILVEARD   |
| 70  | Æ base | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Cross ...                       | +EDILVARD    |
| 71  | Æ      | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Circle enclosing pellet         | +EDILVEARD   |
| 72  | Æ base | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Ditto pellet                    | +EDILVEARD   |
| 73  | Æ      | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EDILVARD    |
| 74  | Æ      | Cross ...                       | +EANBALD     | Pellet ...                      | +EDILVEARD   |
| 75  | Æ      | Cross with pellet in each angle | +EYNBALD V   | Cross ...                       | +EDILAVRD    |
| 76  | Æ base | Ditto with pellet in each angle | +EYNBALD V   | Cross with pellet in each angle | +EDILVARD    |
| 77  | Æ      | Double circle enclosing cross   | +EANBALD AR  | Circle of dots enclosing cross  | +EDILVARDI   |





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COINS OF WILLIAM-THE-CONQUEROR.

A HOARD OF COINS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR  
FOUND IN A TRENCH IN THE WAR AREA.

BY RAYMOND C. CARLYON-BRITTON.

**D**URING the autumn of 1914, a party of men, whilst engaged in digging a trench, were fortunate enough to discover a hoard of 264 silver pennies.

The site of the find, being only a few feet outside the present boundary wall of a churchyard of considerable antiquity, seems to point to the original owner having hidden his treasure in holy ground as an additional precaution against discovery by unauthorised persons.

The coins were buried at a depth of between 18 inches and 2 feet. The apparent absence of remains of a receptacle of any kind, taken in conjunction with the fine state of preservation of most of the pieces, and the fact of a few of them being bent and slightly blackened, seems to bear out Mr. Andrew's suggestion, made to me, that in all probability the coins were deposited in a linen or leathern bag or wallet.

The outer and lower coins would be bent by the continuous pressure of the earth, and the close proximity to the soil of some of them would account for the blackened condition of these. With but one exception the coins are of the two stars type of William I, being Type V under my father's arrangement of the coinage of this king (Hawkins 238). The excepted piece is a mule of C.-B. IV-V (Hawkins 237-238), struck at Lincoln.

The following thirty-nine mints are represented in the find :—

|                          |             |              |              |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|
| Bedford.                 | Gloucester. | Maldon.      | Stamford.    |
| Bristol.                 | Guildford.  | Northampton. | Thetford.    |
| Cambridge.               | Hereford.   | Norwich.     | Wallingford. |
| Canterbury.              | Hythe.      | Oxford.      | Wareham.     |
| Chester.                 | Ilchester.  | Rochester.   | Warwick.     |
| Chichester.              | Ipswich.    | Romney.      | Wilton.      |
| Colchester.              | Launceston. | Sandwich.    | Winchester.  |
| <sup>1</sup> Dorchester? | Lewes.      | Shaftesbury. | Worcester.   |
| Dover.                   | Lincoln.    | Shrewsbury.  | York.        |
| Exeter.                  | London.     | Southwark.   |              |

Five of these mints are hitherto unpublished for this type, that is to say, Chester, Guildford, Hythe, Maldon, and Rochester. Fifteen mints, of which coins are known, were not represented in the find, namely :—Barnstaple, Bath, Cricklade, Derby, Hertford (?), Huntingdon, Leicester, Malmesbury, Marlborough, Pevensey, St. Edmundsbury, Salisbury, Taunton, Winchcombe, and Yarmouth (?). Fifty-four mints are therefore now known to have issued this type.

I have attributed coins reading **HMTVN**, **HMTI**, **HMTV**, **AMT**, **HAMTVI** and **AMTVN** to the Northampton mint, rather than to that of Southampton, upon grounds which I hope to be able to publish at a later date.

The following is a complete list of the coins :

MULE, TYPES IV-V. (CARLYON-BRITTON.)  
(Hawkins 237-238.)

| Obverse.  | Reverse.   |
|---|--|
| Crowned, full-faced bust of the King, between sceptre, end pattée, on his right, and sceptre bottonée on his left, within a plain inner circle; legend, within a beaded circle, begins above the crown. | Over a quadrilateral ornament, having a pellet at each angle, a cross bottonée with an annulet in the centre all within a plain inner circle; legend within a beaded circle. |

<sup>1</sup> A cut halfpenny.

| Obverse. | Reverse. |
|----------|----------|
|----------|----------|

LINCOLN.

\*PILEM REX ANGL | \*SIGVERID ON LINE

Raymond Carlyon-Britton Collection.

Plate I, 4.

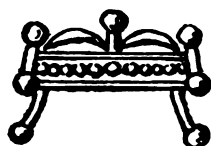
TYPE V. (CARLYON-BRITTON.)

(Hawkins 238.)

Crowned, full-faced bust of the King, between two stars, all within a plain inner circle; legend, within a beaded circle, begins above the crown.

Over a quadrilateral ornament, having a pellet at each angle, a cross bottonée with an annulet in the centre, all within a plain inner circle; legend within a beaded circle.

The King's crown on these coins shows three varieties: No. 1 (Plate I, 1) would appear to be the original design, and Nos. 2



NO. 1.



NO. 2.



NO. 3.

(Plate I, 2) and 3 (Plate I, 3) degenerate forms of it, No. 2 omitting the tassels and No. 3 both the tassels and the cap.<sup>1</sup> A number showing the form used is added to the description of each coin.

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Mr. F. A. Walters, who kindly made the drawings from which the blocks are reproduced.



| No. | Obverse. <sup>1</sup>   | Reverse.   |
|-----|---|--|
|     | BEDFORD.  |  |
| 1   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2   | *SIBRAID ON BED<br>Plate I, 2.   |
|     | BRISTOL.  |  |
| 2   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3  | *EERL ON BRIESI<br>Inner circle beaded. Pellet in first<br>quarter of quadrilateral ornament.<br>Plate I, 5.   |
| 3   | From same die as No. 2.                                       | *CONRL ON BRIESTO<br>Inner circle beaded.<br>Plate I, 6.   |
| 4   | *PILLEM REX AII<br>1<br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder<br>only. | *LFOPINE ON BRIES<br>Plate I, 7.   |
| 5   | *PILLEM REX AI<br>2   | *LFPINE ON BRIC  |
|     | CAMBRIDGE.  |  |
| 6   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3  | *VLFCIL ON GRANT<br>Plate I, 8.  |
|     | CANTERBURY.   |  |
| 7   | *PILLEM REX AII   | *MAII ON EANT<br>Inner circle beaded. Large pellet in<br>place of annulet in centre.<br>This coin is of curious rough workmanship, having a crown of<br>different form from any other coin in this list, and the stars on<br>the obverse of five points only, instead of the usual six. The<br>dies may possibly be of local workmanship.<br>Plate I, 9. |

<sup>1</sup> The figure following the inscription indicates the type of the King's crown which occurs on the coin.

<sup>2</sup> No. 4 is in the Raymond Carlyon-Britton collection.

| No.                        | Obverse.   | Reverse.                                  |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| CANTERBURY.— <i>Contd.</i> |  |   |
| 8                          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3   | *MMANA ON EN                              |
| 9                          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>6  | *MMANA ON LAN                             |
| 10                         | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2  | *IELFRED ON ENTL                          |
| 11                         | *PILLEM REX AN<br>8  | *IELFRED ON ENTL                          |
| CHESTER.                   |  |   |
| 12                         | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2   | *IELFSI ON LECECE                         |
| Plate I, 10.               |  |   |
| CHICHESTER.                |  |   |
| 13                         | *PILLEII REX ANI<br>1<br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder<br>only. | *BRVMAN ON EIST                           |
| Plate I, 11.               |  |   |
| COLCHESTER.                |  |   |
| 14                         | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3<br>Inner circle beaded.                    | *DRMMAN ON EO<br>Inner circle beaded.     |
| Plate I, 12.               |  |   |
| 15                         | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3<br>Inner circle beaded.                    | *PVLFPINE ONCO<br>Inner circle beaded.    |
| 16                         | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3  | *PVLFPINE ON COLI<br>Inner circle beaded. |
| 17                         | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2<br>Inner circle beaded.                   | *DRMAN ON COLI                            |
| 18                         | *PILLEII REX AN<br>2   | *PVLFPINE ON COL                          |

| No.             | Obverse.  | Reverse.  |
|-----------------|---|---|
| 19              | <b>ILLEM R</b>  | DORCHESTER (?)<br>(Cut halfpenny.)<br><b>IMANODOI</b><br>Plate II, 1. |
| 20              | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br><sup>1</sup><br>Inner circle beaded. King wears necklace. Pellet on left shoulder only. | DOVER.<br><b>*MANPINE ON DOF</b><br>Inner circle beaded.              |
| <sup>1</sup> 21 | From same die as No. 20.  | <b>*MANPINE ON DOVFI</b><br>Inner circle beaded.<br>Plate I, 1.       |
| 22              | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br><sup>2</sup>   | EXETER.<br><b>*SEPORD ON IEXECI</b><br>Plate II, 2.                   |
| 23              | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br><sup>2</sup>   | GLOUCESTER.<br><b>*SILPINE ON GLE</b><br>Plate II, 3.                 |
| 24              | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br><sup>1</sup><br>Pellets on shoulders omitted.   | GUILDFORD.<br><b>*SERIE ON GILDEFRI</b><br>Plate II, 4.               |
| 25              | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br><sup>1</sup><br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder only.                                       | HEREFORD.<br><b>*IEGELPINE ON-E</b><br>Plate II, 5.                   |

<sup>1</sup> No. 21 in the Raymond Carlyon-Britton collection.





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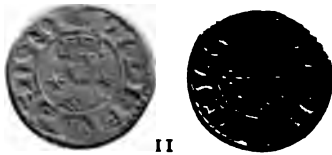
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COINS OF WILLIAM-THE-CONQUEROR.

| No.             | Obverse.   | Reverse.  |
|-----------------|--|---|
| HYTHE.          |  |   |
| 26              | *PILLEM REX A<br>3   | *EADRIED ON HI<br>Inner circle beaded.<br>Plate II, 6.    |
| ILCHESTER.      |  |   |
| 27              | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2   | *IEGELPINE ON GIF<br>Plate II, 7.                         |
| IPSWICH.        |  |   |
| 28              | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2   | *PVLFPORD ON GIPE<br>Inner circle beaded.<br>Plate II, 8. |
| 29              | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2   | From same die as No. 28.                                  |
| 30              | From same die as No. 29.                                     | *P[VLF]PORD ON GIP<br>Inner circle beaded.                |
| 31              | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3   | *LFSTAN ON I GIPI   |
| 32              | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2   | *LIFSTAN ON GIP   |
| LAUNCESTON.     |  |   |
| <sup>1</sup> 33 | PILLEM REX ANI<br>1<br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder<br>only. | *SASOTI STEFANII<br>Plate II, 9.                          |
| LEWES.          |  |   |
| 34              | *PILLEMI REX ANA<br>1  | *PINRED ON LIEPII<br>Plate II, 10.                        |

<sup>1</sup> No. 33 is in the Raymond Carlyon-Britton collection.

| No.           | Obverse.                                    | Reverse.                                  |
|---------------|---|---|
| LINCOLN.      |   |   |
| 35            | *PILLEM RE ANI<br>2                         | *VLF ON LINCOLNE                          |
| Plate II, 11. |   |   |
| 36            | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2                        | *ANSPAL ON LINE                           |
| Plate II, 12. |   |   |
| 37            | From same die as No. 36.                    | *SVFRÐ ON LINE                            |
| 38            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3                         | *SIGPÐ ON LINCO                           |
| 39            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3                         | *SIGVEPIÐ ON LIN                          |
| 40            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                         | *SIGVERIÐ ON LI IIE                       |
| Plate III, 1. |   |   |
| 41            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3                         | *SIGPERÐ ON LMC                           |
| Plate III, 2. |   |   |
| 42            | *PILLEIMREX AN<br>3                         | *PIHTRIC ON LINE                          |
| 43            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                         | From same die as No. 42.                  |
| 44            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                         | *PHTRIC ON LINE                           |
| 45            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                         | *ÐORSTAN ON LN                            |
| 46            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                         | *ÐVERSTAN ON LINE                         |
| LONDON.       |   |   |
| 47            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>1<br>Inner circle beaded. | *GODRIC ON LVNDEI<br>Inner circle beaded. |
| Plate III, 3. |   |   |
| 48            | *PILLEM REX AN<br>1                         | *GODRIC ON LVNDEI                         |
| 49            | *PILLEMI REX ANI<br>1                       | From same die as No. 48.                  |







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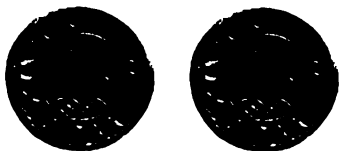
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COINS OF WILLIAM-THE-CONQUEROR.

| No.                  | Obverse.   | Reverse.   |
|----------------------|--|--|
| <i>LONDON—Contd.</i> |  |  |
| 50                   | *PILLEM REX AII<br>2                                       | *GODRIC ON LVNDE<br>Inner circle beaded.                       |
| 51                   | *PILLEM REX A<br>3   | *GODPINE ON LI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |
| 52                   | *PILLEM REX AI<br>1  | *GODPINE ON LVI  |
| 53                   | *PILLEM REX ANA<br>3                                       | *GODPINE ON LVI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 54                   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3  | *GODPINE ON LVI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 55                   | *PILLEIM REX AI<br>2<br>Two pellets on King's r. shoulder. | *GODPINE ON LVI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 56                   | From same die as No. 55.                                   | *GODPINE ON LVE<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| Plate III, 4.        |  |  |
| 57                   | From same die as No. 55.                                   | *GODPINE ON LVN<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 58                   | *PILLEM REX AII<br>3<br>Pellets on shoulders omitted.      | From same die as No. 57.                                       |
| 59                   | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3  | *GODPINE ON LVN<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 60                   | *PILLEM REX AI<br>2  | *GODPINE ON LVN<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 61                   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3  | From same die as No. 60.                                       |

| No.                   | Obverse.  | Reverse.   |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| LONDON— <i>Contd.</i> |   |  |
| 62                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>3                                      | <b>*GODPINE ON LVN</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |
| 63                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AIN</b><br>3                                     | <b>*GODPINE ON LVN</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |
| 64                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>1                                      | <b>*GODPINE ON LVN</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |
| 65                    | From same die as No. 63.  | <b>*GODPINE ON LVND</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 66                    | <b>*PILLEM REX ANII</b><br>2                                    | <b>*GODPINE ON LVND</b>  |
| 67                    | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>1                                     | <b>*GODPINE ON LVND</b><br>Inner circle beaded.                        |
| 68                    | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>2                                     | <b>*GODPINE ON LVNI</b>  |
| 69                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br>3                                      | <b>*GODPINE ON LVNI</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 70                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>2                                      | <b>*GODPINE ON LVNI</b><br>Inner circle beaded.                        |
| 71                    | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>2                                     | <b>*GODPINE ON LVNI</b>  |
| 72                    | <b>*PILELM REX A</b><br>3                                       | <b>*GODPI ON LVND</b>  |
| 73                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br>(?) 2<br>Pellets on shoulders omitted. | <b>*GODPI ON LVND</b>  |
| 74                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br>3                                      | <b>*GODPI ON LVND</b>  |
| 75                    | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>3                                     | <b>*GODPI ON LVNDE</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |
| 76                    | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br>2                                      | <b>*GODPI ON LVNDE</b><br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.  |

| No.                  | Obverse.                         | Reverse.   |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| <i>LONDON—Contd.</i> |                                  |  |
| 77                   | Same die as No. 74.              | *GODPI ON LVNDE  |
| 78                   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3             | *GODPI ON LVNDE<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.                         |
| 79                   | *PILLEIM REX AI<br>3             | *GODPI ON LVNDI  |
| 80                   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>1             | *GDPI ON LVNDNI  |
| 81                   | From same die as Nos. 63 and 65. | *AIMVNII? ON LVN   |
| Plate III, 5.        |                                  |  |
| 82                   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3              | *EDPI ON LVNI  |
| 83                   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3             | *EDPI ON LVNDE   |
| 84                   | *PILLEM REX AII<br>2             | *EDPI ON LVNDI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.                          |
| 85                   | *PILLMM REX AI<br>2              | *EDPI ON LVNDEI  |
| 86                   | *PILLEIMREX AN<br>2              | *EDPI ON LVNDIIE   |
| 87                   | *PILLEIMREX AN<br>3              | *EDPII ON LVND   |
| 88                   | *PILLEM REX AIII<br>3            | *IEDPI ON LVNDE  |
| 89                   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3              | *BRIHTRIC ON LV<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.<br>Inner circle beaded. |
| 90                   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3             | *BRIHTRIC ON LV  |
| 91                   | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3              | *BRHTRIC ON LVI  |
| 92                   | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3             | From same die as No. 91.   |

| No.   | Obverse.                    | Reverse.                 |
|---|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| MALDON.   |                             |                          |
| 93  | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>2  | <b>*LIEEOSVN ON MIEL</b> |
| Plate III, 6.   |                             |                          |
| NORTHAMPTON.  |                             |                          |
| 94  | <b>*PILLEM REX AVN</b><br>1 | <b>*SEPINE ON HMTVN</b>  |
| Pellet on neck.   |                             |                          |
| 95  | From same die as No. 94.    |                          |
| 96  | <b>*PNOLEM REX AI</b>       | <b>*SEPINE ON HMTV</b>   |
| Overstruck on Carlyon-Britton IV (Hawkins 237).                                 |                             |                          |
| 97  | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>2 | <b>*SEPINE ON HMTV</b>   |
| Pellet on neck.   |                             |                          |
| 98  | From same die as No. 97.    |                          |
| 99  | From same die as No. 97.    |                          |
| 100   | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>3  | <b>*SIEPI ON HAMTVI</b>  |
| Pellet on neck.   |                             |                          |
| Plate I, 3.   |                             |                          |
| 101   | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br>3  | <b>*SEPI ON HAMTVI</b>   |
| 102   | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br>3  | <b>*SEPI ON HAMTVI</b>   |
| 103   | From same die as No. 102.   |                          |
| <b>*SEPI ON AMTVN</b><br>Large pellet at one corner of quadri-lateral ornament. |                             |                          |
| Cut half-pennies.   |                             |                          |
| 104   | <b>REX ANI</b>              | <b>*SEI ON IMT</b>       |
| From same dies as No. 99.   |                             |                          |
| Plate III, 7.   |                             |                          |
| 105   | <b>*PIL ANI</b>             | <b>* E ON AMT</b>        |
| From same dies as Nos. 99 and 104.  |                             |                          |

| No.                        | Obverse.   | Reverse.  |
|----------------------------|--|---|
| NORTHAMPTON— <i>Contd.</i> |  |   |
| 106                        | <b>I REX AN</b><br>From same die as No. 102.   | <b>*SEP ITVI</b><br>From same die as No. 101.<br>Plate III, 8.  |
| 107                        | <b>I REX AN</b><br>From same dies as No. 102.  | <b>HAMTVI</b>   |
| NORWICH.                   |  |   |
| 108                        | <b>*PILLEM REX ANIP</b><br><sub>1</sub><br>Pellet on neck.                           | <b>*GODRALI O NORÐPI</b><br>Inner circle beaded.<br>Plate III, 9.   |
| 109                        | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br><sub>2</sub><br>Pellet on neck. Pellet over<br>dexter star. | <b>*EDPOLD O NORÐ</b>   |
| 110                        | From same die as No. 109.  | <b>*EDPOPLD O NOÐR</b>  |
| OXFORD.                    |  |   |
| 111                        | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br><sub>2</sub>  | <b>*IELFPI ON OXSNEFI</b><br>Plate III, 10.   |
| 112                        | <b>*PILLEM REX AIIA</b><br><sub>1</sub>  | <b>*IEREGOD N OXSEN</b><br>Plate III, 11.   |
| 113                        | <b>*PILLEM REX AI</b><br><sub>3</sub>  | <b>*PVLFPPI ON OXNE</b>   |
| 114                        | <b>*PILLEM REX AN</b><br><sub>1</sub>  | <b>*BRIHTRED ON OXSE</b>  |
| ROCHESTER.                 |  |   |
| 115                        | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br><sub>1</sub>   | <b>*LIOFPPIIE HORN ON RF</b><br>Inner circle beaded. Large pellet in<br>place of annulet in centre.<br>Plate III, 12. |

| No.          | Obverse.                                     | Reverse.  |
|--------------|--|---|
| ROMNEY.      |  |   |
| 116          | *PILLEM REX AIII<br>1                        | *IELMIER ON RVME<br>Inner circle beaded. Pellet in fourth<br>quarter of quadrilateral ornament. |
| Plate IV, 1. |  |   |
| 117          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                          | *IELMIER ON RVME<br>Inner circle beaded. Pellet in third<br>quarter of quadrilateral ornament.  |
| Plate IV, 2. |  |   |
| 118          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2                          | *IELMIER ON RVME  |
| SANDWICH.    |  |   |
| 119          | *ILLELM REX AN<br>3<br>Inner circle beaded.  | *IELFHN ON SAD<br>Inner circle beaded.  |
| 120          | *PILLEM REX AII<br>3<br>Inner circle beaded. | *IELFOIET ON SE   |
| 121          | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3                          | *IELFOIET ON SAN  |
| 122          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3                         | *IELFOET ON SAN   |
| 123          | From same die as No. 122.                    | *IELFOET ON SAND  |
| Plate IV, 3. |  |   |
| 124          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2                         | *IELFOET ON SAND  |
| SHAFTESBURY. |  |   |
| 125          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3                          | *LIHTPINE ON SF   |
| Plate IV, 4. |  |   |
| 126          | *PILLEM REX N<br>2                           | *GODSBRAND ON S   |







1



2



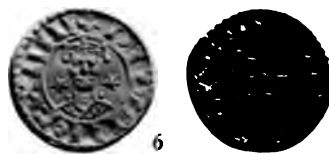
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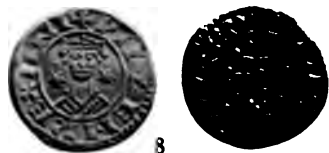
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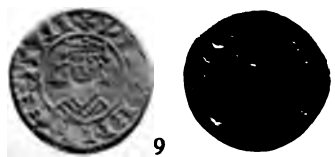
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7



8



9



10



11



12

COINS OF WILLIAM-THE-CONQUEROR.

| No.          | Obverse.                  | Reverse.  |
|--------------|---------------------------|---|
| SHREWSBURY.  |                           |   |
| 127          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>1      | *SEGRIM ON SERV   |
| Plate IV, 5. |                           |   |
| SOUTHWARK.   |                           |   |
| 128          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>3      | *LIOIFINE ON SVÐ  |
| STAMFORD.    |                           |   |
| 129          | *PILEM REX ANI<br>2       | *LVFPINE ON STA   |
| Plate IV, 6. |                           |   |
| 130          | From same die as No. 129. | *LVFPINE ON ST  |
| THETFORD.    |                           |   |
| 131          | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3       | *LINRIC ON ÐETF   |
| 132          | *PILLEM REX A<br>3        | *LINRIC ON ÐETF   |
| 133          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>3       | *LINRIC ON ÐETF   |
| 134          | From same die as No. 133. | *LINRIC ON ÐETFI  |
| 135          | *PILLEM REX AI<br>2       | *ESBERN ON ÐEOTF  |
| 136          | *PILLEM REX A<br>3        | *GODRIC ON DETF   |
| 137          | *PILLEM REX AI<br>2       | *GODRIC ON ÐEOTF  |
| 138          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2      | *GODRIC ON ÐEOTF  |
| 139          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2      | *GODRIC ON ÐEOTFR<br>Pellet in first quarter of quadrilateral ornament. |
| 140          | *PILLEM REX AN<br>2       | *GODRIC ON ÐTFRI  |

| No.          | Obverse.                  | Reverse.   |
|--------------|---------------------------|--|
| WALLINGFORD. |                           |  |
| 141          | *PILLEM REX A<br>3        | *BRAND ON PALN<br>Inner circle beaded. Large pellet in place of annulet in centre. |
| 142          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>2      | *BRAND ON PAL<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.                       |
| 143          | From same die as No. 142. | *BRAND ON PALIO  |
| 144          | *PILLEM REX AI<br>3       | *SPIRTLIE O PALI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.                    |
| 145          | *PILLEM REX AII<br>2      | *SPERTLIE O PALLI<br>Large pellet in place of annulet in centre.                   |
| WAREHAM.     |                           |  |
| 146          | *PILLEM REX AINI<br>2     | *IEGELRIC ON PE<br>Plate IV, 7.  |
| WARWICK.     |                           |  |
| 147          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>1      | *DMIRLIL ON PIER<br>Plate IV, 8.   |
| 148          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>1      | *LVFIE ON PERNIE<br>Plate IV, 9.   |
| 149          | *PILLEM REX ANI<br>1      | *PVLFPINE ON PERIE   |
| WILTON.      |                           |  |
| 150          | *PILLEM REX AHN<br>1      | *SIEPI ON PILTVNE<br>Plate IV, 10.   |

| No.   | Obverse.  | Reverse.                  |
|---|---|---------------------------|
| WINCHESTER.                                     |   |                           |
| 151   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>1<br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder only. | <b>*ANDERB ON PILES</b>   |
| 152   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>1                                       | <b>*ANDRBOD ON PNE</b>    |
| 153   | <b>*PILLEM REX AII</b><br>3                                       | <b>*GODPINE ON PINL</b>   |
| 154   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>2                                       | <b>*GODPNE ON PNLEI</b>   |
| 155   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANA</b><br>1<br>Pellet on King's r. shoulder only. | From same die as No. 154. |
| Cut half-penny.                                 |   |                           |
| 156   | <b>ILLELM R</b>   | <b>*GOD NE</b>            |
| 157   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>2                                       | <b>*LFNE ON PINCESR</b>   |
| 158   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>1<br>Pellets on shoulders omitted.      | <b>*LIFIC ON PINCEST</b>  |
| 159   | <b>*PILLEM REX ANI</b><br>1                                       | <b>*SIPIORD ON PNLE</b>   |
| WORCESTER.                                      |   |                           |
| 160   | <b>*PILLEM REX NI</b><br>2  | <b>*ESTMIER ON PIHEI</b>  |
| Plate IV, 11.                                   |   |                           |
| 161   | <b>*PILLEM REX AII</b><br>1<br>Pellets on shoulders omitted.      | <b>*BALDRIC ON PII</b>    |
| Plate IV, 12.                                   |   |                           |
| Overstruck on Carlyon-Britton IV (Hawkins 237). |   |                           |

| No.        | Obverse.                                     | Reverse.                               |
|------------|--|--|
| YORK.      |  |  |
| 162        | ✠PILLEM REX AN<br>2                          | ✠ALEF ON EFRPNC                        |
| 163        | ✠PILLEM REX AI<br>2                          | From same die as No. 162.              |
| 164        | From same die as No. 163.                    | ✠ALÐVROLF ON EFR                       |
| 165        | From same die as No. 163.                    | ✠HARÐVLF ON IF<br>Inner circle beaded. |
| 166        | ✠PILLEM REX AI<br>2                          | ✠OTBERN ON EFER                        |
| 167        | From same die as No. 162.                    | From same die as No. 166.              |
| UNCERTAIN. |  |  |
| 168        | ✠PILLEM REX AI<br>3<br>(In three fragments.) | ✠PHF(L)RIL(T) ON I<br>IREI'            |

The following list shows the principal varieties noticed :—

#### OBVERSE.

Inner circle beaded : Nos. 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 47, 119, 120.  
 King wearing necklace : Nos. 20, 21.  
 Pellet on King's neck : Nos. 94, 95, 97-99, 100, 108-110.  
 Pellet on King's left shoulder only : Nos. 20, 21.  
 Pellet on King's right shoulder only : Nos. 4, 13, 25, 33, 151, 155.  
 Pellet over dexter star : Nos. 109, 110.  
 Pellets on shoulders omitted : Nos. 24, 58, 73, 158, 161.  
 Two pellets on King's right shoulder : Nos. 55-57.  
 Stars of five points, instead of six : No. 7.  
 Unusual style of crown : No. 7.

#### REVERSE.

Inner circle beaded : Nos. 2, 3, 7, 14-16, 20, 21, 26, 28-30, 47, 50, 67, 70, 89, 108, 115-117, 119, 141, 165.  
 Large pellet at one corner of quadrilateral ornament : No. 103.  
 Large pellet in place of annulet in centre : Nos. 7, 51, 53-65, 69, 75, 76, 78, 84, 89, 115, 141, 142, 144, 145.  
 Pellet in first quarter of quadrilateral ornament : Nos. 2, 139.  
 Pellet in third quarter of quadrilateral ornament : No. 117.  
 Pellet in fourth quarter of quadrilateral ornament : No. 116.

A COIN OF PRINCE HENRY OF SCOTLAND AS EARL OF  
CARLISLE, IN THE REIGN OF STEPHEN.

By F. A. WALTERS, F.S.A.

**I**N the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, Volume II, page 26, Major Carlyon-Britton described a penny of Henry, Earl of Northumberland, which appeared to be of a type previously unknown. This coin was found some years ago at Brough-under-Stainmore, in Westmorland, and, until it came into the possession of the Major, was in the collection of Mr. T. Carrick, J.P. for Cumberland. Having recently acquired another specimen of this type, I have thought that it might be of interest to have it described, as, in addition to being from different dies, it has practically perfect legends on both sides, which is not the case with Major Carlyon-Britton's coin, or apparently with any known specimen of the less rare type described and illustrated by the late Mr. Burns in his work on the Coinage of Scotland.

I have recently carefully examined Major Carlyon-Britton's coin (unfortunately in his absence), as I felt considerable doubt as to his reading of the obverse legend, particularly the Lombardic closed **æ**, which seemed to be an anachronism. I now feel confirmed in my doubts, and believe that the legend is, or should be, the same as on my coin. There is a slight skin of black oxide over parts of the coin, particularly about the supposed **æ**, and I believe that, if they could be removed, traces at least of the letter **h** would be found.

My coin may be described as follows :—

Obverse.— **✠ h : ENCI : CON** Crowned bust, in profile, to right, holding sceptre.

Reverse.— **[✠] WILLEH[O]NCARDI : C** Cross tapering towards the ends, which terminate in fleurs-de-lys.

Obverse legend.—The use of punches for the letters is evidenced by the second upright, the **N** of **CON**, and of the **II** and **N** of **IIEN**, also by that of the **E**. It has a peculiar projection like an **F** without the top bar (**F**) and, although this projection is slightly varied in each case, this is probably an evidence of the theory put forward by Mr. G. C. Brooke, in the British Museum Catalogue, that such variations are due to tooling with a graver after the punching of the letters. A certain rising on the surface of the metal between **C** and **I** gives the last letters, at first sight, the appearance of a **V**, but on close examination this is found not to be so. The reversed **N** at the commencement is a peculiar feature, but on Scottish coins of this period, and some English coins, a letter of this form was used indifferently for **H**, **N**, or **M**. In the present instance it stands without doubt for the Roman H, which was still occasionally in use at this period, and of which an example occurs on the Derby coin of Stephen (Hawkins 277). The **CI** appears to show that, as in other instances, the legend is in the genitive for **✠HENRICI COMITIS** or “ [The money] of Earl Henry.” The colons in the legends do not, I believe, necessarily mark any intentional divisions of the words, but were probably merely punched where required to fill up the irregularly spaced lettering.

Reverse legend.—The moneyer's name, **WILLEM**, is the least distinct part of the legend, but there is sufficient to show that it can be no other. According to Mr. W. J. Andrew, who has supplied me with his notes on this coin, Willem succeeded his father Erembald as moneyer at Carlisle quite early in Stephen's reign, and continued until 1179. The name of the place of mintage is distinct, and the spelling **CARDI** is, for the period, a very near following of **CARD[V]I[LL]**, the form in which the name appears in the Charters of David I (Henry's father) to Robert de Brus about 1125. The **C** after **CARDI** may be taken as intended for **CIVITAS**, Carlisle having only recently been raised to the dignity of a city by the establishment of the bishopric in 1133, and a desire to draw attention to this would be probable. The full legend would be intended to read **WILLE[L]M ON CARD[V]I[LL] C[IVITAS]**.

It is to be regretted that no record was obtainable of the provenance of my coin, which was purchased very far south of the counties that formed the Earldom of Northumberland.

In further reference to this type of Earl Henry, it should be noted that the late Mr. Burns, in his work on the Coinage of Scotland, illustrates, on Plate III, No. 26A, a coin with the same reverse type and reading **WL . . M ON CTR** retrograde. The obverse legend being quite illegible, and no coin being then known of Earl Henry of this type, he describes the one he illustrates as of uncertain attribution, but adds that Mr. Longstaffe, to whom he sent an impression, said that it reminded him of a broken coin found in 1865 in some old lead work flooring, over which one foot of moss had grown, at Blagill mine (the silver mine of Carlisle). No mention is made as to whether the legends could be deciphered. There are indications of a possible reversed **✠ α**, and this may be a coin of David, but I am not aware of any coin of his without the pellets in angles of the reverse cross. It may, however, be assumed that, in addition to Major Carlyon-Britton's coin and my own, two other specimens, in a more or less imperfect state, exist of this very rare type of Earl Henry's coinage.

It may here be of interest to refer briefly to the other known types of his money which, although all are now so rare, must have been coined in considerable quantity, seeing that William Fitz Erembald, the moneyer, rented the mines near Carlisle, which supplied the bullion, at *£100 per annum*.

The coin illustrated on Plate III, N. 23A, of Burns: Obverse, crowned profile bust to right with sceptre; Reverse, cross patée in each quarter of a cross crosslet, connected by a loop with the inner circle. The obverse legend is **✠ H : [E]NCI : COM** as on my coin, that on the reverse **✠ WILEL : M : ON CI :** which Mr. Burns reads as Corbridge, but which is almost certainly Carlisle, as other specimens in the Rashleigh and Murdoch collections, in addition to some others, are all of the latter mint. Coins of both Stephen and David I of Scotland minted at Carlisle are known with this same reverse type, but the former are of extreme rarity.



Another type of Earl Henry's money, in Mr. Spink's Collection, is described in the *Numismatic Circular* for March, 1914, by Mr. W. J. Andrew. This most interesting coin has on the obverse the name of King Stephen, with his head, and on the reverse the name of Earl Henry, with the title, as read by Mr. Andrew, of Lord of the Niduarians, the designation of the inhabitants of the Western Lowlands to the north of Carlisle.

The remaining type that has formerly been tentatively attributed to Earl Henry is Hawkins' No. 259, which has a profile bust with sceptre, to the right; with the legend **HENRICVS**, the reverse being the same as that of Stephen, Hawkins 270. Coins of this type are, I believe, now attributed, with apparently conclusive evidence, to Henry of Anjou, while he was in England to assert his rights during the latter part of the reign of Stephen. It is, however, certainly curious that a coin of this type occurred among the 27 coins discovered in the Isle of Bute on the 7th of June, 1863.<sup>1</sup> All the other coins were Scottish, and, so far as could be deciphered, of David I, with the exception of three pennies of Stephen, of the type of Hawkins 270, one of which was minted at Carlisle, while the other two were uncertain. The **HENRICVS** coin, so far as can be judged by the drawing (photographic reproductions had not then come in), very much resembles the style of Earl Henry's coins. The reverse legend, being unfortunately described as illegible, gives no assistance, although in the illustration it looks as if our more recent authorities might have made something of it. The paper describing the Bute hoard is by the late Rev. J. H. Pollexfen, and he states that the coins are all in the Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh.<sup>2</sup>

Although both Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. W. J. Andrew,<sup>3</sup> in describing the coins of Earl Henry to which I have referred, give

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, Vol. V, Plate V, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The moneyers on the other two coins of Stephen are—

**SAPINE : ON . AS.**

**RODBERT ON . . .**

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. III, pp. 346-349.

the leading particulars of that nobleman, and of his earldom, it may be well, even at the risk of repetition, to recall briefly his position and career.

David I of Scotland, his father, was the brother of Matilda, queen of Henry I of England, and Henry was therefore nearly related to the Empress Matilda. David, in the troubled times of Stephen, claimed the earldom of Northumberland, which included the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland, but refused to pay homage, on the ground of his position as King of Scotland, and after the battle of the Standard in 1138, Stephen, as a politic compromise, invested his son Henry with the earldom, together with the lordship of Carlisle, which he continued to enjoy until his death in 1153, during the lifetime of his father, who afterwards assumed the earldom and resided at Carlisle. The lead mine of Carlisle was so rich in silver as to supply the Earl with all things he required, although apparently its quality was impaired by being imperfectly separated from the lead. The lead mines are, I am told still worked, although silver seems to be no longer obtained from them.

The coins of Stephen struck at Carlisle would have been issued previous to the investiture of Henry with the earldom, and in the cross crosslet type he would appear to have followed a design that had already been initiated on Stephen's money. What may be called the Scottish type, as my coin, may perhaps have been adopted later, when he had more openly espoused the cause of Matilda and her son Henry of Anjou. It resembles very closely the Scottish pennies of David I, save that the four large pellets in the angles of the reverse cross, always found on the coins of David (except where other ornaments take their place), are omitted on those of Earl Henry.







" BEATUS VIR, QUI TIMET DOMINUM."

*Facsimile from the Harleian Psalter (British Museum, Harleian MSS. 603).*

## ROYAL CHARITIES.

### PART I.—ANGELS AS HEALING-PIECES FOR THE KING'S EVIL.

BY HELEN FARQUHAR.

ENGLAND. A ROOM IN THE KING'S PALACE.

MALCOLM : Comes the King forth I pray you ?

DOCTOR : Ay, Sir : there are a crew of wretched souls,  
That stay his cure : their malady convinces  
The great assay of art ; but, at his touch,  
Such sanctity hath Heaven given his hand,  
They presently amend.

MALCOLM : I thank you Doctor.

*[Exit Doctor.]*

MACDUFF : What's the disease he means ?

MALCOLM : 'Tis call'd the evil :  
A most miraculous work in this good king ;  
Which often, since my here-remain in England,  
I have seen him do. How he solicits Heaven,  
Himself best knows : but strangely-visited people,  
All swoln and ulcerous, pitiful to the eye,  
The mere despair of surgery, he cures ;  
Hanging a golden stamp about their necks,  
Put on with holy prayers : and 'tis spoken,  
To the succeeding royalty he leaves  
The healing benediction.

MACBETH, ACT IV, SC. 3.

WRITTEN 1606-7.



SEVERAL years ago I made extensive notes for a paper on Touchpieces, but it was not until the May of 1914 that I presented the results of my studies to the British Numismatic Society. A further delay has occurred before I could offer them in printed form to our members ; and for this procrastination " war-time " is the ever-present excuse.

All idea of publication had been temporarily abandoned by me in 1911, on finding that the subject of touching for the King's Evil had fallen into abler hands than mine, and would be discussed in the Fitzpatrick Lectures at the Royal College of Physicians by Dr. Raymond Crawford.

The book, which embodied and amplified these lectures, was published in the same year, under the title of *The King's Evil*, and it seemed to me that the last word had been said upon the matter.

But finality in research is, perhaps fortunately for those who, like myself, delight in burrowing amongst musty manuscripts, often elusive; and since the publication of Dr. Crawford's interesting and, as I then thought, exhaustive treatise, I have come upon additional data. I had not renounced my interest in the touchpiece, and chance discoveries at the British Museum and the Public Record Office, aided by the keen co-operation at the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum of Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, who eagerly called my attention to new acquisitions, re-awakened my wish to put on record such things as came to light, too late for inclusion in Dr. Crawford's book.

Moreover the publication by my friend, Mr. Henry Symonds, of the Pyx lists and various indentures of our Tudor and Stuart monarchs, has of late years elucidated much which has been hitherto obscure, and has rendered the task of following the angel, the precursor of the touchpiece, easier than when approached by Dr. Crawford. At the latter's suggestion, therefore, I reopen the subject, but am content to leave all controversial and medical questions in his hands—writing of the angels and touchpieces proper rather than of the ceremony for which they were used.

But for the sake of those who have not followed the story of the ancient custom in Dr. Crawford's pages, nor read the slighter sketches written from the numismatic point of view by Dr. Pettigrew,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Superstitions connected with Medicine and Surgery*, published in 1844, by Dr. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew.

Mr. Hussey,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Evans,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Nicholls<sup>3</sup> and others, I will review the origin of the practice, drawing largely upon my friend Dr. Crawford's book for information, and especially on the useful bibliography with which he prefaced his *The King's Evil*.

The custom of healing by the royal touch is of great antiquity : Pliny and Tacitus tell of cures performed by Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, Vespasian and others. But these instances of royal healing need no more be discussed by us than the stories of miraculous cures chronicled by Bede and Gregory de Tours as having been effected by saints and prelates.

The King's Evil, with which our touchpiece is connected, is explained by Dr. Crawford as a definite disease, later called scrofula, the more picturesque name having gradually fallen into disuse since the abandonment of the royal healings.

The earlier records of legendary character are not specific on this point ; let us therefore commence our story with Edward the Confessor, always cited as the pioneer, so far as our sovereigns are concerned, in displaying curative powers, in that he is represented, by William of Malmesbury and others, as the worker of certain miracles, among them the healing of a young woman from the King's Evil.

Edward, it appears, made the sign of the cross<sup>4</sup> over his patient, personally washed and touched the sores with his hands, and ordered her to " be maintained from day to day at his own cost, until she should be restored to full health." Here we have the prototype of

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeological Journal*, vol. x, pp. 187 to 211 and 377. " On the Cure of Scrofulous Diseases attributed to the Royal Touch," 1855, by Edward Law Hussey.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii. New Series. " Hoard of English Gold Coins found at St. Albans," pp. 190-193, by Sir John Evans.

<sup>3</sup> *Home Counties Magazine*, vol. xiv, pp. 112 to 122. " Touching for the King's Evil," by Cornelius Nicholls, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> It appears that Louis IX revived the practice of Louis VI, who used the sign of the cross in touching. See Dr. Crawford's pp. 34-5. In the description of healing by Charles VI, in the fourteenth century, washing was part of the ceremony, see p. 43, but Dr. Crawford deems this to have been the earliest mention of purification since the time of Edward the Confessor.



the "healing" ceremony<sup>1</sup> although this was afterwards altered in some of its details.

I need not trouble my readers with arguments as to the origin of the gift, whether hereditary or conferred by the unction in coronation,—neither need I recapitulate the evidence of priority of the French or English in exercising the power, nor of their pre-eminence in this respect. Suffice it to call attention to the immense endurance required of the French kings; Louis XIV at his coronation<sup>2</sup> touched no fewer than 2600 persons, and of Louis XIII, who even at nine years of age approached his mission fasting from the night before, it is said that he nearly fainted under the strain of touching 450 sufferers on one very hot day in the summer after his accession. Undaunted he went on with his work, for "his face and hands were washed with wine and he was able to complete his task."<sup>3</sup>

With regard to priority, also, Dr. Crawford gives the palm to the French, for although he treats with doubtful reserve the testimony concerning Clovis in the fifth century, sometimes claimed as the first healer by French authors, he considers that the evidence preponderates in favour of Robert the Pious, who, reigning in France from 996 to 1031, healed by touch. Of Henri I, the succeeding King, we have no tradition, but in this practice Robert was followed by Philip I between the years 1061 and 1108.<sup>4</sup> Our Edward the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Crawford's *King's Evil*, pp. 18-20, translating a contemporary Chronicle called "*Vita Eduuardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit.*" Brit. Mus. Harl. MSS. 526 and Rolls Series, Luard's *Lives of the Confessor*, No. 3.

<sup>2</sup> It was the custom of the French kings immediately after their coronation to proceed to the priory of St. Marcoul de Corbeny, not far from Reims, to touch for the Evil. St. Marcoul, or as the name is sometimes spelt Marcoult, himself, according to one tradition, possessed the healing gift in the sixth century.

<sup>3</sup> *The Court of Louis XIII*, by K. A. Patmore, pp. 270-1. See also the *Making of a King*, by I. A. Taylor, pp. 134 and 157, and *The King's Evil*, pp. 65 and 102, where Dr. Crawford states that Louis XIII, when only nine years old, touched great numbers of persons at his coronation, and on several occasions more than 1000. The numbers at the coronation are given by various authors as from eight to nine hundred.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Crawford says, pp. 12-14, "It is clear that Robert the Pious cured sick persons by touch, but we have no sufficient indication of the nature of their sickness . . . both Philip I and Louis VI (1108-1137) did actually touch for the cure of scrofula . . . and as but one reign, that of Henri I (1031-1060 A.D.), intervened



*To face page 43.*



**HENRI II, TOUCHANT LES ECROUELLES.**

*Photograph by the Maison Berthaud, from the miniature in the Bibliothèque Nationale.*

Confessor importing the custom from Normandy, where he had already performed cures of various kinds, comes, in point of time, between these monarchs, and must have preceded Philip as a healer in France, and at least have rivalled him in England. The questions at issue appear to be whether the disease healed by Robert was really scrofula, and the exact date of Edward's recorded cure of the King's Evil, regarded by some as having taken place shortly before his death, by others as much earlier.<sup>1</sup> Olaf of Norway also adopted the custom, as his Saga reports, in the early eleventh century, upon his return to his Kingdom from a sojourn in Normandy in Edward's company. After it had been discarded by us, Charles X, King of France, still retained the healing virtue, and at his coronation in 1824 touched 121 sick persons,<sup>2</sup> and thus to our French neighbours must be conceded at least the last word in the matter.

By the courtesy of Monsieur H. Omont I have received from the Bibliothèque Nationale permission to reproduce from the *Catalogue de l'Exposition de Portraits peints et dessinés du XII<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, a photograph due to the Maison Berthaud, taken from the *Livre d'Heures de Henri II.*<sup>3</sup>

This manuscript contains the Oraisons used by the French kings in touching for scrofula, and is believed to have been executed in 1547 shortly after Henri's accession to the throne, in that it represents the ceremony at the Priory of Saint Marcoul de Corbeny after the coronation. It is of interest as giving a vivid picture of the procedure in France, showing that the Gallic king made the round of the kneeling patients, whereas with us the monarch sat in a chair of state, whilst the sick persons knelt in turn before him. Even

between that of Robert the Pious and Philip I, it would seem probable that Robert's patients were also scrofulous." See also p. 21, where he, moreover, calls attention to the statement in the Harleian eleventh-century manuscript No. 526, that the practice was new in England when imported by Edward from Normandy, whilst Guibert de Nogent, in his *De Pignoribus Sanctorum*, writes of it as already established in France.

<sup>1</sup> See our p. 44, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> No. 99, described on p. 55 of the catalogue of 1907 and illustrated facing p. 56 from the Latin Livre d'Heures No. 1429 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Edward the Confessor is pictured in an early manuscript as seated.<sup>1</sup> Henri IV again, in the frontispiece of Laurentius's *De Mirabili Vi Sanationis*, is shown standing.

With regard, specially, to our early English history also I owe much to Dr. Crawford, who has studied in the original several authorities whose works are beyond my knowledge, both of Latin and abbreviated script, or are at present unavailable for research.

So far as our present information takes us, it was not until the end of the thirteenth century that the donation of a special coin during the ceremonial was substituted for the earlier order that the patient should be fed at the royal expense.

To turn then at once to the numismatic side of the question. Robert of France, we find, in visiting the sick, gave them "with his own hand a sum of pence."<sup>2</sup> Of our Edward the Confessor a contemporary manuscript states that he caused his patient to "be maintained from day to day at his own cost, until she should be restored to full health."<sup>3</sup>

We have no reliable documentary record of a specified coin until the reign of Edward I—but of this more anon.

I called Dr. Crawford's attention to this miniature in the Exhibition of 1907, and he obtained permission to illustrate it facing page 58 in his *King's Evil*. He also gives a plate of Henri IV performing the ceremony, facing p. 78, and on p. 43 describes the office in France in the fourteenth century, which differed from ours, the washing of the sore practised by Edward the Confessor having been later discarded in England.

<sup>1</sup> *La Estoire de Seint Ædward le Rei*, MS. Ee. iii, 59, University Library, Cambridge, illustrated by Dr. Crawford, facing p. 18 of *The King's Evil*. The manuscript was printed and translated by H. R. Luard in his *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 1-311, Rolls Series. It was written for Eleanor of Provence, Queen of Henry III, about 1245. The account of the cure is undated, but, with other miracles, it follows immediately after Edward's embassy to the Pope of the years 1049-54, and comes before the death of Earl Godwin, which occurred in 1053. It is, however, doubtful whether any attention was paid to chronological arrangement, the incident immediately succeeding being that of the famous ring, six months only before Edward's own demise.

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 12, quoting Helgald the Monk, who, writing a few years after Robert's death, used the words: "manu propria dabat denariorum summam."

<sup>3</sup> *Lubet deinde eam cotidie regia stipe ali donec integre restitueretur sanitati.* Harl. MS. 526, No. 3, f. 34.

No coin has ever, so far as I can learn, been designated by the French, as was our gold angel, "the healing piece," although certainly money was sometimes given. Louis XIV, for instance, presented 30 pence to each foreigner and 15 pence to each Frenchman.<sup>1</sup> But as in the case of our Edward the Confessor, the French doles seem to have been more of the nature of alms or travelling expenses than as keepsakes, such as were given by the Tudors and Stuarts. I consulted the late Monsieur H. de la Tour at the Bibliothèque Nationale, asking him whether any token was so regarded in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles, and whilst replying in the negative he showed me a curious little medal portraying a leg in a basin of water, which he said he personally believed to be connected with that other kingly ceremony, the washing of feet on Maundy Thursday in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. It occurred to me, although not until after the death of M. de la Tour, that the French touching ceremony also included the personal washing of the sick by the king,<sup>2</sup> with the simple formula: "Le roi te touche, Dieu te guérit."<sup>2</sup>

I must pass over further details on French observances given by Dr. Crawford, mentioning only that when coin was bestowed it was usually given by the almoner and not, as with us, hung about the patient's neck by the king himself. Early in the sixteenth century, under Francois I, such vicarious presentation is recorded,<sup>3</sup> and again in the reign of Louis XIV<sup>4</sup> in the seventeenth century, whilst in England from the time of Henry VII onward we find the king

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> See description given by Dr. Crawford, p. 43, taken from Etienne de Conti's *History of France*, written in the fifteenth century, where Charles VI, 1380-1422, is shown to have washed the sick persons in a vessel full of water. It is, however, more probable that the little medal commemorated the Maundy ceremonial as suggested by M. H. de la Tour.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 58. See also Mrs. Henry Cust's *Gentlemen Errant*, p. 313. This authoress quotes the amount given by Hubertus Leodius, the secretary in the mid-sixteenth century of Frederick II, Elector Palatine. He witnessed François I of France healing whilst a prisoner in Madrid, and says the ceremony consisted of "the simple act of touching the diseased necks in the form of a cross," but was preceded by a four days' fast on the part of the king.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

personally using the coin, wherewith to make the sign of the cross and himself hanging it "about the neck" of the sick person that he might "wear it untill he be full whole."<sup>1</sup>



ANGEL OF HENRY VII. FIRST COINAGE.

To our King Henry VII is attributed the elaborate and set form of the service and by most writers it is assumed that it was he who introduced the gift of a gold piece, apparently to be retained for a time at least and not used for maintenance.

But so many and so persistent have been the rumours of gold presented by Edward I, and even by Edward the Confessor, that it may be worth while to sift the evidence before we follow Dr. Crawford in his safer course of suggesting the possible employment of the angel for a touchpiece, so soon as it saw the light—that is to say under Edward IV. What, then, are these rumours of a golden touchpiece antecedent even to the appearance of Henry III's gold penny or Edward III's inauguration of a currency in this metal?

Although gold coins existed in England in the time of Edward the Confessor,<sup>2</sup> there is no evidence that he in healing bestowed a

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. 3407, c. and 6 b. 10. *The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King's Evil as they were practised in the time of Henry VII.* This form was published for James II in 1686 and proves, as Dr. Crawford says, that the office reproduced was at that date attributed to Henry VII. The Latin office with the English rubric is printed at length by Dr. Crawford, pp. 52-56; also, pp. 56-7, an older exorcism from which it was said that Henry derived his service, and which contains many points of similarity. See also Beckett's *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, Appendix vi, for the service used by Henry VII.

<sup>2</sup> A gold piece, said to be a coin of Edward the Confessor, was exhibited before the London Numismatic Society in 1837 and illustrated in the second volume of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, but was declared to be an early forgery. A genuine gold penny, however, was struck at Warwick by this king, and other examples due to Offa, Vigmund or Æthelred II, etc., might be in Edward's coffers.

golden amulet ; his gift to his patient being a food dole whilst he kept her under observation. Nevertheless, a certain statement, although without other foundation than the piercing of the upper end of the ornament,<sup>1</sup> has been since the seventeenth century repeated of an early Anglo-Saxon or, according to Dr. Stephens, later Scandinavian bracteate, now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.<sup>2</sup> Edward in point of time might, of course, have possessed such an ornament, of a date some two at least if not four or five hundred years prior to his own, but there is no evidence whatsoever to connect it with him in any way, nor with healing. It was found buried in St. Giles's Fields near Oxford, and probably formed part of the burial ornaments of an early warrior. In 1677 Dr. Robert Plot, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*,<sup>3</sup> described the discovery of this bracteate, which being pierced for suspension, he believed to be a touchpiece of Edward the Confessor, whose initials he thought he discerned upon the gold piece and he said it was then in the possession of one Sir John Holeman. Round this ornament battle raged in the eighteenth century, various writers<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The holes appear to be rivet holes by which the usual gold attachment would have been affixed.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *Archæologia*, vol. lxii, p. 491, where it is simply referred to by Mr. Thurlow Leeds, as belonging "to a class of bracteates derived from late Roman coins, bearing the head of an Emperor," and considered by Sir Arthur Evans to be of Anglo-Saxon fabric. The label at the Ashmolean Museum reads: "The design, as the remains of a debased inscription, C.O. for Constantine or Constantius, show, is derived from Roman coin types of the fourth century A.D. Specimens of this class, frequent in Scandinavia, are rarely discovered in Britain." Mr. Andrew tells me that such bracteates are seldom found of Anglo-Saxon origin in later burials than those of the sixth century, but if the specimen be, as Dr. Stephens thinks, see *Runic Ornaments* vol. ii, 521, of a somewhat late Scandinavian type, it might date so late as the eighth or ninth century in a Danish burial in this country.

<sup>3</sup> Plot's Plate XVI, Fig. 5, and p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> In *Archæologia*, vol. i, pp. 161 to 167, published in 1770, Dr. Samuel Pegge, writing in 1752, explains Plot's mistake and collates the views held by different writers on the subject, such as by Walker and Thoresby on their elucidation of Plate iv, No. 40, in vol. i of Camden's *Britannia*, in 1722, Sir Andrew Fountain in his *Epistolary Dissertation*, also Thwaites and Wise, Walker alone accepting Plot's theory. Beckett, in his *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, had, also in 1722, repeated the story with



explaining the design as a head of "a woman veiled," of the Christ, or of an Eastern king; but all agreeing that it was not a portrait of the Confessor, and that had the initials been E.C., which was then disputed,<sup>1</sup> they would have no relation to this king, who, said they, received his saintly title years after his decease.<sup>2</sup> But Dr. Radcliffe, afterwards well known as Queen Anne's physician, appears to have been a believer in Robert Plot's absurd theory, for he, in 1684, having presumably acquired it in the course of the preceding decade from Sir John Holeman, presented the bracteate, together with another so-called touchpiece, to the Bodleian Library. Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, noting the mention of a donation of an Edward the Confessor's touchpiece in Dr. Curll's *Life of Radcliffe*, published in 1715, called my attention to it and obtained from Mr. F. Madan, the courteous librarian of the Bodleian, an extract from the Benefactor's Register describing Radcliffe's two numismatic gifts.<sup>3</sup> The one was the piece ascribed to Edward the confessor, "broad and thin with two small holes near the upper edge," and was identified by Dr. Nias in the Ashmolean Museum, whither it had been removed. The second presentation which should, both according

some reserve, but quoted the views of the authors of his day and sums up against the belief that Edward the Confessor used gold for healing.

<sup>1</sup> The letters which, as we have seen, according to the present label in the Ashmolean Museum, read C.O., the copy of a debased inscription taken from a Roman architype, are regarded by Dr. Stephens in class No. 5 in *Runic Monuments*, vol. ii, p. 521, as reading on the specimen he illustrates as E.C.M.U., but there is reason to believe that he based his study on the incuse side, where the lettering is reversed. Samuel Pegge read the letters as E.G.O., also studying the impression from the reverse side from an engraving.

<sup>2</sup> It appears doubtful at what period Edward was first spoken of as Saint and Confessor, but he was only canonized by Pope Alexander III nearly a hundred years after his decease. See Beckett's *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, Appendix I, for the Papal bull.

<sup>3</sup> Extract from the Benefactor's Register, Bodleian Library, Oxford: "Dominus Io Ratclif, M.D. Collegii Lincolniensis nuper Socius, pro suâ in Universitatem Benevolentia, anno 1684. Bibliothecæ Bodlejanæ dono dedit Aureos antiquos duos qui sunt: Edwardi Confessoris Aureus unus, latus sed valdè tenuis duplici foramine pensilis, quasi fuerit ex Nummis curatoris qui strumosis dari solebant. Regis Henrici Aureus statim post captam Galliam cusus."

to the Register and the author of Radcliffe's biography, be a coin of Henry V, can only be a sovereign of Henry VII of the third coinage, no other gold piece in the Bodleian Collection fulfilling the requirements with regard to the two holes, assuming that this description applies to both gifts. This sovereign has many lis in the field and probably the idea that they commemorated the "capture of Gaul" caused the attribution to Henry V, rather than to Henry VII. The search for a pierced Anglo-Gallic coin was vain, and to us the chief interest in the "Henricus" piece lies in the fact that it is a sovereign and not an angel.<sup>1</sup>



SOVEREIGN OF HENRY VII.

But, as in the case of the bracteate, the only reason for its supposed connection with the healing ceremony lay in the holes with which it is pierced, and personally I am inclined to believe that both objects were perforated for wearing in the wars as ornaments or safeguards. In the time of Edward III it was no uncommon thing to carry a gold noble as an amulet on going into battle, the legend *IHC AVTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIVM ILLORVM IBAT* being regarded as protective. The same words appeared upon Henry VII's sovereign, and the coin in question is much rubbed on the reverse, the natural result of friction when suspended, whence we assume that the piece was used as an amulet, but probably not as a

<sup>1</sup> I have had the privilege of personally examining the Bodleian coins, which comprise some Anglo-Gallic pieces of Henry V, but these are unpierced. There is also a Henry VII's angel, probably a touchpiece, being pierced with one small hole; but these coins appear to have no relation to the description.

touchpiece. This curious belief in the virtue of the noble as a talisman still existed throughout the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century. It is related that Mary of Modena, in her flight from England in 1689, carried with her a large casket of these coins and made gifts of them at the French court, where she found them highly prized.<sup>1</sup> Attached to them, especially to the rose noble of Edward IV, was a legend that they were made of pure gold, but that it was produced by alchemy.<sup>2</sup> It is said that one of these ornamental coins was considered a very valuable present, and thirty years later the Chevalier de St. George, it is reported, although apparently upon scant foundation, still made special gifts of them.

Curiously enough the tradition held by Dr. Radcliffe and Dr. Plot that Edward the Confessor gave gold touchpieces, became later confused with vague rumours concerning Edward I. Several authors—Drs. Brewer,<sup>3</sup> Pettigrew,<sup>4</sup> and others—have said that

<sup>1</sup> Strickland's *Queens of England*, vol. vi, p. 344.

<sup>2</sup> The fictitious memoirs of Madame de Créquy gave credence to this belief, for they contain an amusing though unreliable account of the transmutation into base metal of a rose noble, previously tested as of the purest gold, which had been given to her by the Chevalier de St. George, under the skilful management of an alchemist called Casanova. These memoirs, published about the middle of the nineteenth century, were purely imaginary, but were for many years accepted as reliable evidence, and are seriously quoted sometimes to this day. See *Les Souvenirs de la Marquise de Créquy*, tome i, pp. 147–150, chapter viii. Miss Strickland, vol. viii, p. 201, *Queens of England*, writes, however, that the Chaillots MSS. state that Edward I and Edward III kept an alchemist in the Tower “who made gold for them,” and that pieces from the crucible of one Raymond Tully were devoted to healing by the kings of England, and “bound by their royal hands on the arm of each of their subjects touched in the healing office.” Some confusion exists, for the authoress speaks of Angel-coins, which were not known under Edward III, still less under Edward I, and it is probable that the Dutch imitations of our nobles and angels later gave rise to imputations on the purity of our Plantagenet coinage.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. E. C. Brewer, in his *Dictionary of Miracles*, but his *Reader's Handbook* and his *Phrase and Fable* both refer to the gift of the first gold piece as being from Henry VII, and are of later issue than the *Dictionary of Miracles*.

<sup>4</sup> *Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery*, “In the *Computus Hospitii* of Edward I, preserved amongst the records of a small sum of money (gold medal) as given by the King to the applicants quently mentioned.”

it is so stated in the records of the Tower, and in this they were followed by our member Mr. W. Charlton,<sup>1</sup> who kindly, in return to my question, gave me Dr. Brewer's *Dictionary of Miracles* as his authority. The records of the Tower are now removed to the Public Record Office, and such *Computi Hospitii* of Edward I as were examined by Dr. Crawford prove conclusively that the sum given to each patient at every healing was, as we should expect from the state of the currency, one penny.



PENNY OF EDWARD I, ABOUT 1281-3.

We naturally look for evidence in the Household and Wardrobe accounts, for the Treasurer and Controller of these departments under each successive king were responsible for the correct entry of the royal gifts and oblations.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford in his *The King's Evil*, p. 30, tells us that between the time of Edward the Confessor and Edward I he has found no absolutely direct or documentary evidence of "healing," and the records of the last-mentioned king depend on "the mere accident of the survival of his household accounts."<sup>3</sup> It would be unlikely that anything should pass unnoticed by Dr. Crawford, but in corroboration I may say that Mr. W. J. Andrew tells me that he has on my behalf searched the early chronicles for any record of touching between the days of Edward the Confessor and the death of Henry III, and has found none, although the state courts are often recorded with some detail, especially in the time of Stephen. Dr. Crawford mentions a controversy relative to the succession, the heredity or the purely personal responsibility for Edward the Confessor's curative powers, detailed by William of

<sup>1</sup> "Touch Pieces and Touching for the King's Evil," *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society*, vol. xxxi, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> See Scargill Bird's *Guide to the Public Records*, edition of 1908, p. 246.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 30.

Malmesbury.<sup>1</sup> The Chronicler would seem to have based his account of the healing by Edward, as King of England, of a sick woman on an earlier manuscript, the *Vita Æduuardi*, dedicated by an unknown monk of Westminster to Edgitha, the Confessor's widow.<sup>2</sup> The date of this biography is therefore fixed as between September, 1066, the battle of Stamford Bridge being mentioned, and 1075,<sup>3</sup> when Edgitha died.<sup>4</sup>

William of Malmesbury, whose *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* takes us to about the year 1125, is usually believed to have died in or soon after 1143.<sup>4</sup> He carried his *Historiæ Novellæ*, the continuation of his chronicle, so far as 1142, but we may assume that the part referring to Edward's "godly miracle" was written some years earlier. It is found in the second volume of the five which form the *De Gestis Regum*, and words in the prefaces of the last three of these indicate that they were written after the death of Henry I. Some expressions in the first book suggest that his reign was already closed when the preface to that portion also was drawn up. To me it seems possible that the controversy might even have reference to a contemplated effort towards the canonization of Edward which, although not granted until 1161, was advocated by Osbert of Clare about 1139-1140. Mr. Andrew admits the possibility that the healing story was not written until after Stephen's accession, and calls my attention to a passage immediately following it, in which reference is made to David as "now" King of Scotland, proving that at the earliest it cannot have been penned prior to 1124, when David,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 21, quoting *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Vita Æduuardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 526, and Rolls Series, *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, pp. 389-435, by H. R. Luard.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, preface xxxiii, by H. R. Luard, who states, p. xli, and is therein followed by Dr. Crawford, *King's Evil*, p. 18, that this manuscript was freely used also by Osbert of Clare, Prior of Westminster, who completed about 1139 his Life of Edward. Osbert was in his turn quoted about a year later by Ailred of Rievaulx in his *Miracula S. Edwardi*.

<sup>4</sup> William of Malmesbury, according to some writers, survived until 1145, but we only know that he lived long enough to revise the first draft of the third book of his *Historiæ*, carrying his chronicle forward to 1142. The year 1143 is generally assumed to have been his last.

Earl of Huntingdon, succeeded his brother Alexander on the Scottish throne.

If, then, we believe that the discussion reported in the *De Gestis* was raised at the earliest in the last decade of Henry, and more probably after his death, it casts, as Mr. Andrew suggests, a strong light on the question of previous healing. Malmesbury, who dedicated his history to the Earl of Gloucester and supported the Empress's claims throughout, would be no believer in the "divine right" of Stephen. It might be thought that Stephen would be glad to assert his powers, and had his predecessors William I, William II, or Henry I claimed the gift of healing, any question of heredity and "divine right" would have been settled long ago by ocular demonstration of the ceremony. In such a case no Norman monk would have dared to write, as did Malmesbury, in a work intended for the acceptance of Robert of Gloucester, the son of Henry I. Malmesbury's point, taken from Edward's earlier anonymous biographer, was that other cures had already been performed by him, whilst still in Normandy before his accession, and therefore that they could have no relation to the descent of the crown of England.

He attributes to Edward the Confessor, as does also Ailred<sup>1</sup> in his *Miracles and Life* of this king, the power of healing from personal saintliness and, says Malmesbury, "it is a falsehood that some declare nowadays, who assert that the cure of that disease was derived not from his holiness, but by inheritance of his royal lineage."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Andrew, like Dr. Crawford, considers that we have in Malmesbury's argument distinct indication that no king of England exercised the healing gift between the death of Edward and that of Henry I, even Harold II being ruled out. He, however, quotes a passage, also from Malmesbury, to the effect that Henry I's wife,

<sup>1</sup> See note in Rapin's *History of England*, vol. i, p. 15, quoting Ailred of Rievaulx in his *Vita Beati Eduardi*, whom he treated as a saint and not as a prince.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford's translation from *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*. See *The King's Evil*, p. 20: "Unde nostro tempore quidam falsam insinuant operam, qui asseverant istius morbi curationem non ex sanctitate, sed ex regalis prosapiæ hereditate fluxisse."

"the good Queen Maud," who was niece to Edgar Atheling and of the royal Saxon line, had worn haircloth in Lent, walked barefoot in the churches, washed the feet of the diseased, touched their ulcers and pressed their hands to her lips. He calls attention to the fact that as Queen Maud was Henry II's grandmother it is quite possible that Malmesbury intended to convey at least the idea of healing by this story. He therefore suggests that Henry may have claimed this power through her and her royal Saxon descent, as nephew in the fifth generation from Edward the Confessor. The more probable is this, because it was in Henry II's time, at the instance of Thomas à Becket, that the movement was renewed in England for the canonization of Edward in 1161. To this period also we owe the inception of the first of the magnificent shrines at Westminster, to which the saint's remains were transferred in 1163. But documentary support is not lacking as to the probability that Henry II revived the healing custom, and Dr. Crawford brings forward the letter addressed by Peter of Blois to the clergy at the court of England.<sup>1</sup> It is true the allusion to the healing power of royal unction therein contained is somewhat speculative, and no direct evidence is given of its actual exercise by Henry. Nevertheless, it forms a link in the chain, and from it I think we may fairly conclude that Henry did in truth re-establish the efficacy of the royal touch, and that the revival was coincident with the formal canonization of his predecessor the Confessor.

Thus writes Peter of Blois, as translated by Dr. Crawford: "I admit indeed that it is a sacred duty to attend upon the lord King: for he is holy and the Lord's Anointed, nor has he received the sacrament of royal unction in vain, as if its efficacy be not known or be in doubt the disappearance of bubonic plague and the cure of scrofula will beget the fullest belief."<sup>2</sup> Miss Strickland, the well-

<sup>1</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 24, quoting Peter of Blois in his *Epistola*, cl: ad Clericos Aulae Regiae. Dr. Crawford believes that this letter was written between the years 1170 and 1180. Peter became Archdeacon of Bath, and afterwards of London, and our author brings forward evidence that the letter was certainly addressed to the English clergy rather than to those at the Norman court.

<sup>2</sup> *Fateor quidem, quod sanctum est domino regi assistere: sanctus enim etustus Domini est: nec in vacuum accepit unctionis regiae sacramentum, cuius*

known biographer of our English Queens, who curiously enough does not accept as indicative of healing the handling of the sick by Matilda Atheling to which we have already referred, is similarly sceptical concerning Henry II. But we may, perhaps, so far agree with her as to believe that "William the Conqueror and William the Hollander<sup>1</sup> equally repudiated the claim of healing the sick: they were too much occupied with killing those who were well."<sup>2</sup> "The uproarious sons of the Conqueror, Robert and Rufus . . ." she proceeds, "manipulated the sword, the lance and the wine cup, . . . but carefully eschewed the company of the sick. Their learned brother Henry . . . wisely married a saint's niece and a saint's daughter, who brought with her something like a title to the throne." . . . "Chroniclers speak," continues Miss Strickland, "of the washing and healing the wounds and sores of the poor by Matilda Atheling, but we can trace no imposition of hands."

"The first Plantagenet," and here again we are at issue with the authoress, "does not appear to have been aware of any gift of healing . . . inherited from his royal Saxon grand-dame, and as for his successor, the Lion's Heart, it is to be doubted that, if any Saxon serf had knelt to beg the imposition of the royal hand, it would have been given with his weighty battle-axe." And so Miss Strickland carries us through a list of our kings, rejecting John also, and judging from the published *Rotulus Misæ* of his fourteenth year, not without reason,<sup>3</sup> and attributing the revival of the custom to

efficacia, si nescitur, aut in dubiam venit, fidem eius plenissimam faciet defectus inguinariae pestis et curatio scrophularum."

<sup>1</sup> William of Nassau Prince of Orange as William III of England did not believe in "healing" and refused to touch.

<sup>2</sup> *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup> The *Rotulus Misæ* of John, namely the Wardrobe book of his fourteenth year, survives and was published in Latin in 1844 by the Record Commission under the title of *Documents Illustrative of English History in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, pp. 231-269, and ably edited with an English preface by Sir Henry Cole. I find in the roll, so far as my imperfect knowledge of Latin enabled me to study it in detail, no record of touching, although many of the king's charities are noted, such as the gift of 100s. to the Canons of Barling on the burning of their house. The usual oblations appear on saints' days, and eleven and sixpence is entered as the price of



Henry III.<sup>1</sup> But, alas ! she, a most careful investigator as a rule, gives no evidence for this last assertion, and repeats it again with regard to Henry VI with the same lack of proof, basing in both cases her arguments on the likelihood that so it must have been.<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough the authoress, although believing that Edward I and Edward II "healed," seems less certain on the point than with regard to Henry III, whilst as a matter of fact, it is under the first Edward that Dr. Crawford has now obtained absolute proof of the regular dole given in healing. Let me quote the author of *The King's Evil*, who considers, however, that although there is no direct proof concerning Henry III, or his two immediate predecessors, there is strong presumption that he touched, following in the footsteps of his grandfather, Henry II, in this matter. "With Edward I on the throne we pass at once out of the region of legend and hypothesis on to the firm ground of historical fact," writes Dr. Crawford. He then gives many extracts from these *Household Accounts of Edward I* of the year A.D. 1277-1278, of which I will repeat a sample.

"On Monday the 4th of April to brother Radolph Almoner . . . for 73 persons sick of the King's Evil 6s. 1d."<sup>3</sup> . . .

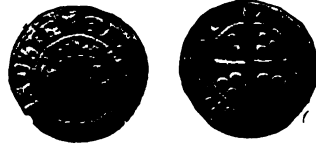
two bezants on the occasion of the king's visit to Reading. He frequently provided feasts for 100 or even 1000 paupers. On most occasions the expense of giving food to 100 poor persons is set down at 9s. 4½d., namely 1d. and about half a farthing a head if bread and fish only were provided ; but if bread and meat the expense amounted to about 1½d. a head. Sometimes the gift appeared to be of the nature of a penance because he had eaten flesh twice on a Friday, see pp. 231-32, etc., or as a thankoffering for a good day's hunting, see p. 253. His Maundy gift to thirteen paupers, of thirteen pence to each, is specified as amounting in all to 14s. 1d. His oblation to the Holy Cross was 13d.

<sup>1</sup> In favour of the likelihood of healing by Henry III, we may cite his ceremonious reverence for Edward the Confessor, whose relics he laid with great pomp in the second finished shrine at Westminster in October, 1269.

<sup>2</sup> *Strickland*, pp. 200-202.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 33 from Computus Hospitii, 6 Edward I, P.R.O. Chancery Miscellaneous Bundle IV, No. 1, Fol. 10<sup>d</sup>, "Die lune iiiii die Aprilis fratri Radolpho elemosinario . . . pro lxxiii infirmis egritudinis regis vis. id. Fol. 11<sup>d</sup>, Die Lune xi die Aprilis . . . pro <sup>xx</sup> ciiii xii egrotis de morbo regis curatis xviii. To lxii [At Easter time]. Pro cciiii et viii egrotis sanatis de morbo regis xxiiii. iiiid. Fol. 17<sup>d</sup> [at Ascension time] xvii egrotis signatis per regem xviid. Fol. 20 [at Whit-

"On Monday the 11th of April . . . for 192 sick men cured of the King's Evil, 16s." Dr. Crawford calls our attention to the large number touched at this date, being Easter. Or again: "For



PENNY OF EDWARD I, ABOUT 1303.

288 sick persons cured of the King's Evil 24s. 4d.," and he here remarks on the faulty reckoning, for this should be 24s. Just one penny was obviously given to each person.

But I need not particularize further, for other and later *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward I*,<sup>1</sup> although less definite in detail than those of the Household above quoted, inasmuch as they only give the number of pennies and not of persons, are also full of information, and we can easily by adding the sums arrive at the large healings held by the king. From this *Liber Garderobæ* we learn that Edward between November 20, 1299, and St. John the Baptist's day—June 24, 1300, a date after which I could find no further mention of a healing within the year, disbursed a total of 80s. 10d. for 970 persons. Of this sum 58s. 4d. is entered under one head as follows: "Et pro denariis datis infirmis benedictis per Regem a festo Pasche usque Sancti Johannis Baptiste predictum 58s. 4d." Other entries

suntide] tribus egrotis benedictis de manu regis per elemosinarium regis iiid. Thomas Carte, writing in 1747, mentions that Mr. Anstis, Garter King at Arms, had told him that he had counted 182 persons noted as healed in Edward I's Household Accounts of his sixth year, but their number is greatly exceeded by the above extracts of Dr. Crawford. I am indebted to Mr. I. H. Jeayes for kindly reporting to me on some of the Wardrobe books of the 22nd and 28th years of Edward I, and a book of the 30th year's accounts of this king which are in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, and he tells me there is no reference to the King's Evil, as they prove to contain the receipts and not the expenditure of the Controller of the Wardrobe.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, 28 Edward I (1299-1300). In the collection of the Antiquaries and published in Latin with an English preface by John Topham in 1787.

are at the end of every week from November to April, sometimes for such sums as 3s. 7d. or 3s. 9d., but usually for a few pence—2d., 7d., 9d., 15d., or the like.<sup>1</sup>

The book contains much interesting information about Edward I's charities, which were upon a scale quite enormous for the time. There were weekly distributions to 666 paupers on Sundays, reaching the sum of £4 3s. 3d. each time, or 1½d. per head.<sup>2</sup> In one place this alms-giving is particularized as "cuilibet pauper" per diem 1d. quadran'," but the arithmetic throughout tends to show that this dole to the poor at the gate was mostly at the rate of 1½d. each, whereas the word denarius is always used with regard to those whom the king's hand had blessed.

We must remember that some fifty years later the Statute of Labourers fixed the price of a day's haymaking at one penny per man; presumably, therefore, in 1350 this sum, which in metal value was the equivalent of about 3½d. of our money and had a far greater purchasing value, was reckoned sufficient for a man's keep.<sup>3</sup> In 1300, judging from Edward I's charity accounts, his food-dole was of 1½d. or 1¼d.; and we may therefore suppose that the penny given to his patients was as a remembrance rather than for board or travelling expenses, but of this we have no direct proof.

Of the rather scarce groats of Edward I—the first groats issued in England—which have come down to us, several have been gilded; some show traces of solder, where a brooch attachment had been added to them, and others are pierced. Gilt and pierced pennies are also found,<sup>4</sup> but there is, so far as I can discover, no evidence,

<sup>1</sup> "Eidem pro denariis datis infirmis benedictis per Regem infra eosdem 2 dies ix<sup>d</sup>." The casting of the column of expenses of which this is an item shows that this sum of 9d. was distributed on two successive days. Usually the entry is for a week, "Eidem pro den' datis infirmis benedictis per Regem infra eandem septimanam xij<sup>d</sup>" and so forth. The gifts come under the head of *Elemosina*, pp. 16–24.

<sup>2</sup> On special Saints' days this donation was largely increased, the dole often including 2400 or even 3300 paupers in one week.

<sup>3</sup> Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England*, table of values, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> Thoresby in his note on Plate IV, No. 40, in the first volume of *Camden's Britannia*, p. ccii of the 1722 edition, whilst repudiating Plot's opinion concerning Edward the Confessor's bestowal of a gold touchpiece, and suggesting that there

beyond the vague rumours already referred to, that Edward I gave aught other than the current penny, or used any form of gold, or gilt medal, in touching. His accounts mention the presentation, in church, of florins, that is to say of the well-known gold coins of the famous Tuscan city, the value of which is specified at 3s. 3*d.*, and which were then accepted throughout the whole of western Europe. When gold, frankincense and myrrh were given, at the feast of the Epiphany, the offering of the precious metal, specified as "in pretio unius florini auri,"<sup>1</sup> was almost certainly made in the form of Florentine coin.<sup>2</sup> In the *Ordinances of the Household of Edward II*<sup>3</sup> it is definitely stated that a florin shall be handed to the king, by the Treasurer, for his Epiphany offering,<sup>4</sup> but no mention is made of its value in English money. The same king presented to the shrine of Saint Thomas "iij florens au Florenc," also "v florinis de florence le iour de la Purificacione de nostre Dame." Like donations by Edward I were evidently made in actual florins, as the words run "quolibet florino valente iij*s.* iij*d.*"<sup>5</sup> Edward II presented at the altar, on Good Friday, coins, which, after they had been blessed,

then was no English gold currency available, speaks in general terms, with regard to our early monarchs, of a possible silver gilt gift. He says it was "perhaps no other than the current silver monies of each prince, except gilded by distinction." Thoresby notes that he has seen "such an one with a hole for the ribbon to be hung about the neck in the old Lord Fairfax's Museum," but he does not say of which king, only that he is represented in full face and with the arched crown as on his great seal.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, pp. 27 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> In *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi, pp. 318-345, Mr. Thomas Stapleton published "A Brief Summary of the Wardrobe Accounts of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth year of Edward II," 1316-1318 and 1320-21. Amongst other items there are various transactions about florins and the loss entailed by their purchase at 3*s.* 2½*d.* and re-sale in England at 3*s.* 1½*d.* (p. 322), or again 3*s.* 5*d.* was paid for them to be afterwards presented in Florence to various persons at the value of 3*s.* 4*d.* These were required for an embassy going to Rome, but the Florentine coin was in the reign of Edward II easily obtainable in England, so that, if the King wished for some 3*s.* for his oblation, and gold was obligatory, he might obtain the florin.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 32097, f. 69 b.

<sup>4</sup> "Item le roi doit offrir le iour de la Thesaigne [Epiphany] un florein a la remembrance des iij Rois, quele offrend lui seria baille par le Tresorier."

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, p. 30.

were returned to him in the form of cramp rings. The same course was pursued by Edward III, who, in the ninth year of his reign, long before the introduction of his gold currency, is reported as giving two florins for the purpose of making these rings, and consequently redeeming them with pence.<sup>1</sup>



FLORIN OF EDWARD III.

In later times<sup>2</sup> we read much about the king's oblations, and the gold given on twelve "Collar days"—so called because the Garter knights attended on these days—was handed to the Almoner for the poor. Edward I's weekly "gate alms" have been only here particularized because we have such precise details of their amount. John, as we have seen, gave feasts to 1000 or more paupers at a time, but unfortunately I have no evidence as to the moment when the "gate alms," namely the daily distribution by the king's almoner of the dishes left from the royal table, became an established custom.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume I, N.S., page 49, and British Museum MS. Cotton Nero C. VIII, f. 209, as quoted by Dr. Crawford in his *The Blessing of Cramp-rings*, published, in 1917, in *Papers on Early History of Science*.

<sup>2</sup> Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, page 140, of 1677. See also other dates.

<sup>3</sup> Under various monarchs the sum expended naturally varied considerably, but so recently as 1893 Mr. Bidwell, giving an account of the Royal charities in *The Guardian*, computed these doles at £1600 a year. He stated that in 1848, by a fresh arrangement, the personal attendance of 150 recipients was abrogated, but they still received 26s. yearly, representing the allowance of 6d. a week, which in olden times was paid at the gate of Whitehall under the name of "Gate Alms," and 1300 widows and other pensioners still obtained relief. In Stuart days, besides 4d. in money, the gallon of beer and two loaves of bread were still dispensed to 24 persons daily, or in lieu thereof 3d. each. See Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, various dates.

From very early times the king himself, at certain seasons, both in England and in France, offered his gifts to the poor, as on Maundy Thursday, and it is quite possible that the respective artists of the Utrecht<sup>1</sup> and Harleian Psalters<sup>2</sup> depicted scenes which they had themselves witnessed when they, at Hautvilliers in the ninth and at Canterbury in the eleventh century, illustrated the CXII psalm (in the Vulgate this is Psalm CXI), portraying "the man that feareth the Lord," that "hath great delight" in his

<sup>1</sup> *The Utrecht Psalter* was once in the Cottonian Collection, but is now no longer in this country. It was in 1874 reproduced by the Paleographical Society. In 1873 a report had been addressed to the Trustees of the British Museum by A. P. Stanley, E. A. Bond, E. M. Thompson, and other eminent students, see *The Utrecht Psalter*, who variously placed its date from at the earliest the eighth to the tenth century, but nearly all believed it to be of the ninth. Dean Stanley, however, in his preface, called attention to the illustration of the 95th psalm as showing the jagged outlines characteristic of work in England in the tenth or even in the eleventh century, and the Rev. C. A. Swainson remarked on some drawings, not reproduced in the Harleian MS., as showing indications of this late period. These writers all then judged the manuscript from the English standards, but Mr. J. A. Herbert in his *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 108, tells us that the careful researches of Monsieur Durrieu have established "beyond any reasonable doubt that the book must have emanated from the same school as the Ebbo Gospels at Epernay, which were executed . . . at Hautvilliers, near Rheims, between 816 and 835," see *L'Origine du Manuscrit célèbre dit le Psautier d'Utrecht*.

<sup>2</sup> The Harleian Psalter, Harl. 603, Brit. Mus. MSS., was originally catalogued by Mr. Herbert Wanley, Harley's Librarian in 1720, as of the time of Edgar, and has been quoted by Thomas Wright as of the ninth century, but modern research has established that it is a free imitation, in colours, of the monochrome Utrecht or some similar Psalter, and was written and drawn in Southern England, perhaps at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, about the beginning of the eleventh century. The artist reached only the 143rd psalm, and left spaces in his volume unfinished, illustrating in colours, whilst the 166 pictures of the Utrecht prototype are in monochrome brown. Some of the gaps have been filled by a different hand. Mr. J. A. Herbert, in his *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 115, writes: "Variations in detail suggest a long series of successive copies intervening between the Harleian MS. and its archetype. By this time, as we might expect, the classical flavour of the original has evaporated; and the Anglo-Saxon love of coloured line has substituted blue, green, red and sepia for the uniform brown ink of the original." Sir Edward Maunde Thompson, in his *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, pp. 16-18, writes that the "later artists," whilst "copying drawings from older and foreign models . . . would introduce certain modifications to suit the objects of their time and country."

commandments, in that "he hath dispersed abroad and given to the poor."

To the Harleian Psalter we owe our frontispiece, which by the fact of its coloured outline, jagged edges to the draperies, and type of script, has by the best modern authorities on paleography been judged to be of English origin and placed at the beginning of the eleventh or at the earliest at the end of the tenth century.

This particular drawing, although it has the Norman touch, has been referred to by several authors as throwing light on the architecture and manners of the Anglo Saxons.<sup>1</sup> But we would accept more readily as final the latest ascription to the eleventh century of the whole Harleian MS. 603,<sup>2</sup> and suggest with some diffidence that the likeness to the architecture of the Bayeux tapestry<sup>3</sup> might perhaps indicate that this drawing in particular is amongst the additions to the unfinished folio, if such were made in the time of Edward the Confessor or William the Conqueror, as was deemed probable by Harley's librarian. We must, however, bear in mind that the original as it appeared in the older, namely the Utrecht,

<sup>1</sup> See Thomas Wright's *History of Domestic Manners in England*, pp. 12 and 14-15, and W. Shaw-Sparrow's *The English House*, pp. 40 and 43-44. Both these authors give a black free-hand line drawing taken from the Harleian MS., but not a direct copy either from it or the Utrecht archetype, as portions irrelevant to architecture, although descriptive of the psalm, have not been rendered.

<sup>2</sup> J. A. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> The Bayeux Tapestry, it is believed, was made for Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and Earl of Kent, probably immediately after the Conquest. Some authorities, amongst others the Provost of King's College, Cambridge, Dr. M. R. James, see *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, p. lxxi, refer generally to the Harl. 603 MS. as of the tenth century, but this is the earliest date of the now accepted dates, and even in Wanley's time it was stated that some of the pictures might be restorations of the days of Edward or William the Conqueror, the manuscript being in some places defective, with spaces left for illustration, so that I venture to suggest that for our selected drawing we may be justified in assuming, as has been done regarding folio 3b of the same Psalter, see vol. i, *Ancient and Modern Furniture in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, p. 58, a rather later date, bearing in mind that if any of the pictures in the Utrecht MS. have, as we have seen that Mr. Swainson pointed out, late characteristics, this may certainly be said of the original illustrating Psalm cxi, and more strongly developed in our Harleian version.

manuscript does not vary greatly from our version, and these royal distributions as portrayed in the Harleian MS. must earlier have been witnessed by the artists of Hautvilliers, most probably at Rheims.

But may we not fancy that the Monk of Canterbury,<sup>1</sup> whilst adhering in the main<sup>2</sup> to the foreign picture set before him as illustrative of "Beatus vir qui timet Dominum," actually saw such distributions at the English Court? In 1042 Edward the Confessor began his reign, bringing with him from Normandy his pious customs and marrying, in 1045, Edgitha the daughter of Earl Godwin. May we not think that he is here portrayed as assisted by her in his public ministrations? Be this as it may, I take this opportunity of bringing before you a vivid presentment of charitable distribution, whether or not any king is specially intended.<sup>3</sup> The basket, or "maund," in the hands of the presiding seated figure, the almoner at the side door, clothing the naked, the wine, poured out by the servants in the foreground, are all suggestive of the Maundy celebrations, whilst the recumbent man, within the house behind the noble lady or queen, showing the cure of the sick, supplies a detail not particularized in psalm cxii, in the Vulgate psalm cxi. All are indicative of a time when the poor flocked to the palace daily for "gate alms"; but not to the palace only, for we have records of Maundy distributions by bishops, priests, and even by various private persons. A little later we find Henry VII setting aside, besides daily alms at 37s. 11d. per week, £10 a month, increased to £20 by Edward VI, to be given by the royal almoner to the poor,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M. R. James writes in his *Ancient Libraries*, p. 532, "I venture to add" [to his list of Canterbury MSS.] "the Harleian MS. 603, and to regard it as a St. Augustine's book." Also in his preface, lxxi, he writes that it is "in a round hand characteristic of St. Augustine's."

<sup>2</sup> The differences between the earlier and later drawing consist principally in the arrangement of details in the building, notably in the tiles—the general theme and position of the figures is the same.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. W. J. Andrew points out that, although not wearing a crown, this may well be a king, as at that time the crowns were worn only at the three great feasts, and Maundy Thursday was in Lent. The presence of the Huscarles suggests to him that the donors represent royal personages.



these sums appearing regularly in their respective accounts,<sup>1</sup> and during Henry's journeys we read frequently of "Alms as he cam' upon the waye." Mary I caused 5s. 5*d.* to be distributed daily by Dr. Bill, her Chief-almoner, "at the Court Gate," this would amount to the usual 37s. 11*d.* each week.<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, in February, 1588-9, gave orders as to compensations to "the Pannyer man and undercook," so that the distributions to the Poor at the Gate at "Grey's Inne" might be continued thrice a week.<sup>3</sup> Her distribution is specified at 5*d.* each to thirteen poor men a day, which explains more definitely the reason of so curious a sum as 37s. 11*d.* per week.<sup>4</sup>

But to return to our Plantagenet kings, from whom we have too far digressed.

We have noticed in the British Museum the beautifully illuminated fourteenth-century book of manuscripts, in Latin and Norman French, dealing with various ceremonial and historical matters in the reigns of the first three Edwards and Richard II.<sup>5</sup> This collection belonged to the antiquary William Lambard, who in the time of Elizabeth made notes in English in the margins—and one of these notes, in a document dealing with the times of Edward II and reading, "Rings to heale the King's Evel," attracted my

<sup>1</sup> *The Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, edited by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas: "Item the same day paid to Master Baugh for the King's pryvey almes for ij moneth to be ended the last daye of December, [1532], xx li," and many similar entries. For Edward VI's monthly outlay, see P.R.O. MSS. *Exchequer Various*, Bundle 425, No. 5, and the *Trevelyan Papers*, vol. i, published by the Camden Society in 1856, *Household book of Edward VI*, p. 203. "Item paid to Dr. Cox, the K's alemomiser for so much money by him disbursed and employed for the Kinges majesties privie almes . . . after the rate of xx li. the monethe, the sum of clx li." This sum covered seven months in 1547.

<sup>2</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, 1547-80, p. 56, Jan. 1, 1553-4.

<sup>3</sup> Nichol's *Progresses of Elizabeth*, vol. i, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 1644, "xiiij pore men at Her Maiestie's gate every one of them vd. per diem." September, 1581.

<sup>5</sup> This collection, to which I have already referred, see p. 59 and note 4, made by Lambard, consists of Latin and a few French documents of the fourteenth century, written in the reign of Richard II. The French portion which I quote is indexed under the head of *Ordinances of the Household of Edward II*, circa 1318-20. See Brit. Mus. Addit. 32097, f. 46 b to f. 70.

attention. But the Elizabethan student's interpretation of the passage seems to me mistaken and refers only to the king's usual Good Friday's offering for cramp rings<sup>1</sup> to heal epilepsy and not scrofula.<sup>2</sup> The word for these blessed rings—in modern French anneaux, in Norman French aneals or anaus—is here contracted into anulx. After presenting at the cross 5s. the king offered yet another 5s. for rings “a donez pour medecine a divers gentz,” with the usual reference to an extra gift in the presence of the “espine Dieu.”

This is, however, a matter of small importance, for the wardrobe accounts of Edward II's tenth, eleventh and eighteenth years are in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, and two of the earliest of these three, being those of the years 1316 to 1318, were published in *Archaeologia*, as I have stated, in 1835,<sup>3</sup> together with an abstract of the fourteenth year in private hands.

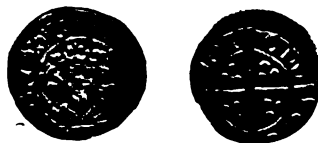
The account of 1316, as epitomized by Mr. Stapleton, shows forth the journey of Edward II to repel a Scottish foray, and we see that the king, although on a warlike mission, found time to heal at each place where he stayed on his way, namely, at St. Albans twenty-two persons, and four days later at Kingscliff “other seventeen”; at

<sup>1</sup> Andrew Borde, writing in 1542 in his chapter I of his *Introduction to Knowledge*, says: “The Kinges of Englande doth halowe euery yere Crampe rynges ye whyche rynges worne on ones finger doth helpe them whyche hath the Crampe.”

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. addit. MS. 32097, 69b. “Item le Roi doit offerre de certain le iour de Grand Venderdis a crouce vs. queux il est accustumez receivre divers lui a le mene le chapelyn a fair ent' anulx a doner pur medecine a divers genz e a revientr autre vs. si l'espine dieu y soit il doit offerre a lespine iijs.”, which I would translate “The King should offer without fail, on the day of Good Friday, to the Cross which he is accustomed to receive before him at the hands of the chaplain, vs. to make rings to give for medicine to divers folk, and to redeem them another v.s.; if the Thorn of God be there he should offer to the Thorn iijs.”

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi. *A Brief Summary of the Wardrobe Accounts of the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth years of Edward II*, by Thomas Stapleton, pp. 318–345. The last mentioned of those books was then in the collection of Mr. Joseph Hunton, of Richmond. John Topham, in his *Wardrobe Book of Edward I*, says that those of the fifteenth and sixteenth years of Edward II were, when he published, in the library of Thomas Astle, see *Liber Cotidianus*, p. xxi.

Clipsham, the next day, eleven, and at Wilsford fifteen. He passed a week at Lincoln, where he touched twenty-six, twenty-seven more



PENNY OF EDWARD II.

at Bentley, or on the road thither, seventeen at Tadcaster and finally seventy-nine at York, where he remained some three months.<sup>1</sup>

Let us turn to Edward III, and again I must trespass on the figures taken from the *Computus Gardrobæ*, 12-14 Edward III, at the Public Record Office, by Dr. Crawford. Here we have the definite proof that one penny was the sum given to each patient: "And for 885 sick persons blessed by the King and by the grace of God cured of the King's Evil during the time mentioned [11 July, 12 Edward III, to 28 May, 14 Edward III] to each 1*d.* from the King's alms, 73*s.* 9*d.*"<sup>2</sup> Dr Crawford computes that our third Edward must "have touched at least four or five hundred persons in a year."<sup>3</sup>

But enough said of these early kings. In 1348 came the Black Death, followed by constantly recurring plague for the ensuing 300 years, and to this Dr. Crawford attributes the periods of silence by our chroniclers concerning touching, but considers that certain words in John Mirfield's *Breviarium* of the reign of Richard II are at least

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. xxvi, pp. 319-20.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 40, quoting *Wardrobe Accounts*, p. 177 [Exchequer Treasury of Receipt Misc. Book, 203]: "Et pro 885 infirmis benedictis a Rege et per gratiam dei curatis infra dictum tempus a morbo regali cuilibet 1*d.* de elemosyna Regis. 73*s.* 9*d.*"; and from *Wardrobe Accounts*, 15-18 Edward III, p. 152: "Pro denariis per ipsum solutis 327 infirmis a dicto domino nostro Rege benedictis infra tempus predictum [2 years] cuilibet 1*d.*" *Ibid.*, p. 153: ". . . pro denariis per ipsum solutis 69 infirmis a domino Rege benedictis infra tempus predictum [18th year] cuilibet 1*d.*"

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 41.

suggestive of the continuity of healing.<sup>1</sup> He, however, says that Mirfield may have referred to the French kings only.

Fear of infection would be a restraining reason and perhaps accounts for the complete absence of healing items in such wardrobe or household books as have been searched by Dr. Crawford or are available to me of Richard II,<sup>2</sup> and Henry IV,<sup>3</sup> of Edward IV<sup>4</sup> or Richard III.<sup>5</sup> "Medycinable rings of gold and silver," namely "cramp-rings,"<sup>6</sup> that other form of cure pertaining to royalty,

<sup>1</sup> A Latin medical work, Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 3, entitled *Breviarium Bartholomaei*, containing the words, "And if that measure be not pleasing, let us go to the King, since kings have been accustomed to cure it by touch alone." See Dr. Crawford, p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Abstract published in *Archaeologia*, vol. lxii, pp. 497-514. Wardrobe Accounts of Richard II, 1393-4, by W. Paley Baildon.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 43, referring to *Computus Hospitii*, 7-8 Henry IV, Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 319.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Niger Domus Regis Angliæ Edw. IV.* See *Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790; and the *Wardrobe Accounts of Edward IV, Anno 1480, under Piers Courtney*, by Sir Nicholas H. Nicolas. The latter only mentions clothes and household articles and not charities.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, vol. i, pp. 361-380, by Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter: "Wardrobe Accounts for 1483, 1st year of the reign of our Sovereign Lorde Richard III."

<sup>6</sup> *Collection of Ordinances*, p. 23, as above. Cramp rings were much sought after abroad, and Mrs. Cust, in her *Gentlemen Errant*, mentions a request for such from Germany in the sixteenth century, then called an "English ring." They were blessed by the king and given to epileptics. The ceremony of "hallowing the Cramp-rings" by Henry VIII is given at some length in a manuscript which I have studied at the College of Arms. It is a mid-sixteenth-century collection of royal ceremonies, and describes the Good Friday function under Henry VIII of blessing the rings after "creping to the Cross," laid on a cushion before the altar, where the rings of gold and silver were offered. *College of Arms*, M. 7. It is also described under Mary I in the Venetian Calendar, vol. vi, p. 436, and Bishop Burnet, in his *History of the Reformation*, book II, part II, p. 414 of the edition of 1829, published the Latin service, apparently from Mary's Breviary, now in the library of Westminster Cathedral. Beckett, in his *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, Appendix V, prints the cramp ring rubric and calls attention to the statement of Andrew Borde, a physician of the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, that "the King's Majesty hath a great helpe in the matter of hallowynge Cramp Rings, and so gyuen without money or petition." See Andrew Borde's *Breviary of Health*, Chap. 327. Of Richard II and Henry IV, Dr. Crawford mentions, p. 42 of his *King's Evil*, evidence of medicinal rings. In

are mentioned in the reign of Edward IV in the *Liber Niger Domus*, 25s. being specified as spent for that purpose, but the excellent abstracts and translations of the early Household and Wardrobe Accounts prior to Tudor times usually give little information concerning charities. Many of these, however, contain only matters referring to some particular event—a royal wedding, or coronation, or details of the receipts instead of the expenditure.<sup>1</sup> Other manuscripts, yet unpublished, await the laborious elucidation of those more expert than myself in reading early script or contracted Latin.

Bryan Tuke's account book, he being Treasurer of the Chamber to Henry VIII, we notice a large outlay in cramp-rings, 40 ounces of rings "of gold of the fynest" at 41s. 4d. an ounce and 130 ounces of silver rings at 4s. 4d. per ounce. Robert Amadas, "Maister of the Kingis Iuelles," received £118 16s. 8d. in December, 1532, for these articles, namely, £8 more than is warranted if "gold of the finest" be correctly reckoned at 41s. 4d. per ounce. The price is somewhat puzzling, for, by the proclamation of August 22, 1526, it had been raised from 40s. to 44s., and again, on November 5 in the same year, to 45s. We should expect to find the valuation higher, rather than lower, in 1532, and, had I not seen the original manuscript, I should have thought that there might be an error in the reading adopted in the *Trevelyan Papers* as showing the price of gold at this period. I would suggest that the figures xli are a slip of the pen of the sixteenth-century scribe for xlv, and that gold stood at 45s. 4d. per ounce, the sum then working out correctly. See *Trevelyan Papers*, vol. i, p. 174, and P.R.O. Exchequer Accounts Various, Bundle 420, No. 11, f. 140. Henry VIII, in the following year 1533, gave sixty specially blessed golden rings to Hubertus, the envoy of the Palsgrave Frederick II, Elector Palatine. See Mrs. Henry Cust's *Gentlemen Errant*, p. 357, taken from the original narrative of Hubertus Thomas Leodius: "Annalium et vita et rebus gestis illustrissimi Principis Frederici Elect. Palat.," pub. 1624, but written in the middle of the sixteenth century. Much light is thrown on the subject in a recently published article, "The Blessing of Cramp Rings," by Dr. Crawford, in *Some Papers on Early History of Science*, edited by Dr. Singer.

<sup>1</sup> See Mr. S. R. Scargill Bird's *Guide to the Public Records*, p. 246, where it is stated that it was the duty of the Treasurer of the Wardrobe and his Controller "to keep the King's money, jewels, gifts and private receipts, and make a separate roll to be returned annually into the Exchequer." In another roll were entered the daily and necessary expenses which comprised ". . . gifts, alms and oblations" amongst various other items. Much information concerning the Treasurer of the Chamber and his books is contained in Dr. A. P. Newton's "The King's Chamber," in the *English Historical Review* for July, 1917.

But in spite of the absence of direct evidence, so far forthcoming, concerning "touching" by Edward IV, Henry VI,<sup>1</sup> Edward V and Richard III, Dr. Crawford<sup>2</sup> was struck by the introduction of the



ANGEL OF EDWARD IV.

angel by the first mentioned of these kings and the fact that the legend and the figure of Saint Michael<sup>3</sup> were as applicable to the healing ceremony as was the case under Henry VII. The angel



ANGEL OF HENRY VI.

was first ordered to be struck in an indenture of the year 1465, and its issue was continued during the brief restoration of Henry VII in

<sup>1</sup> Miss Agnes Strickland distinctly asserts, in the *Queens of England*, vol. viii, p. 202, that Henry VI healed; unfortunately she gives no authority for her statement.

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> We must remember that the selection of St. Michael for the type also of the angel was suggestive of healing. Mr. G. F. Hill, in a paper recently read before the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, on Apollo and St. Michael, brought forward the analogies as healers between Apollo, the slayer of the python and sender of and preserver from plague, and St. Michael. In representations of the saint the Destroying Angel of the pestilence appears in the form of a serpent, and St. Michael figures as the healer or dragon-queller in the legends of art. It would almost seem that the type of an angel, as the healer, trampling on pestilence, taken in connection with the legend placed upon the coin by Edward IV, is strongly indicative that it was intended as a touchpiece by its originator. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies* vol. xxxvi, pp. 134-162.

1470-71. Inasmuch as Henry VI did not re-ascend the throne until after Michaelmas, and was again a prisoner on Maundy Thursday, he is unlikely to have held an Easter healing; but the turn in his fortunes was unexpected and the angels which he coined may have been intended for the Easter-day, signalized by the battle of Barnet. Excepting the increased sums spent by Edward I<sup>1</sup> at Easter, we have, however, no indication that healing was at first limited to certain periods, but rather that kings touched those presented to them on their travels. It is perhaps worth noting that an angel of Henry VI, in the fine collection kept in the Bodleian Library, is pierced with the very small hole, which we usually associate with early touchpieces. It is, however, fair to state that the aperture is far from the edge and therefore inconvenient for suspension, and it is not well to rely too much on the evidence of piercing. The words "Per Crucem tuam salva nos Christe Redemptor" on Henry's angels and those of Edward IV are at least suggestive that Edward caused the coin to be made for use as a touchpiece. Moreover, angels were the only gold coins issued by Edward V and Richard III, a fact which gives colour to the possibility that they were connected with a religious ceremony and were specially minted for the king. All these monarchs had political reasons for wishing to accentuate their "divine right" either by unction or heredity: few had more than Edward IV, and Dr. Crawford is of opinion that he probably healed. But perhaps these reasons were yet stronger in the case of Henry VII, who no doubt wished to impress on the minds of his subjects his own personal right to the throne and the approval of Heaven of his assumption of the Crown, by his possession of "the imperishable gift" which, according to the belief of his age, had, to quote Polydore Vergil, from the time of Edward the Confessor, "indeed descended by right of inheritance as it were to the kings."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See our p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Anglicana*, lib. viii, p. 143, ed. 1570: "Quod quidem immortale munus, iure quasi hæreditario, ad posteriores regis manavit: nam regis Angliæ etiam nunc tactu, ac quibusdam hymnis non sine caerimoniis prius recitatis strumosos sanant." See also Dr. Crawford, p. 51.

It is significant also that when Henry VII changed the legend on some of his angels, adopting, as Dr. Crawford remarks,<sup>1</sup> the words which adorned the noble of Edward III, namely "Iesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat," he did not abandon altogether the "Per Crucem tuam salva nos Christe Redemptor" legend, but issued angels contemporaneously with the alternative texts from scripture. We find the words indifferently on coins bearing mint-marks, cinquefoil and escallop, and I would suggest, with all diffidence, that the one was made for currency and the other retaining the Per Crucem legend was primarily intended for the healing and church ceremonies. In favour of this hypothesis is the continuation, by Henry VIII and Edward VI, of the last mentioned text on the angel, whilst "Iesus autem," etc., found its place on the sovereigns.

Some of Henry VII angels bearing the words "Iesus autem" might be regarded as amulets,<sup>2</sup> and pierced for wearing in battle. I can, however, only say that such pierced angels of Henry VII as I have seen, have borne the Per Crucem legend; but were it otherwise, the matter of a hole or not is no strong proof, for, as I have said, many old coins are unfortunately pierced at the present day by people who like to wear them.<sup>3</sup> We have seen that this was probably the case with the sovereign in the Bodleian Collection; but putting aside this coin, it has been questioned why our first Tudor king gave

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Essex, when starting on his naval expedition to Spain in 1597, wrote to thank Elizabeth for some presents she had given him: "Above all the angel which you sent to guard me." This would probably be an angel of Henry VII, as Elizabeth's own angels bore words suitable to the healing and not to preservation from danger. See *The Successors of Drake*, by Julian Corbett, pp. 167-8.

<sup>3</sup> To tell a contemporary piercing from a modern, one should look whether the hole has been punched by an instrument made for the purpose, a hollow punch which removed the surplus gold such as would be used at the Royal Mint. This rule is, however, not infallible, for the piercings in some of the late touchpieces are very rough. A drilled hole made by a jeweller, still more by an amateur, generally retains some of the gold behind, whilst that made by a punch is smooth on both the sides; some touchpieces, however, appear as if roughly drilled, especially the silver pieces of James II, which look as though pierced by a gimlet. But as a broad rule it should be remembered that until the time of James I the hole was very small.



so large a benefaction as an angel.<sup>1</sup> Parsimonious as Henry VII is usually said to have been, his exactions were more a matter of policy to weaken his disloyal subjects than of greed, and his privy purse expenses show that, like his son Henry VIII, he was apt to spend money in jewels, to play cards, and would be really generous on occasion. We find him distributing considerable sums in groats



ANGEL OF HENRY VII.

and half-groats "in almes," giving 5s. to a woman who merely handed him two glasses of water, and an angel to "a Walshe man that maketh rymes,"<sup>2</sup> and such trifling donations as 3s. 4d. to another "Walsshman that com oute of Wales," or to one that found a hare the same sum.<sup>3</sup> His usual Sunday oblation was 6s. 8d., as it remained, in spite of the alteration in value of the angel under his son and grandson. He gave 37s. 11d. weekly to the poor at his gate,<sup>4</sup> and his "Maundy" is regularly chronicled. His church gift, on St. George's day, for instance, was sometimes 30s.,<sup>5</sup> whilst Henry VIII and Edward VI at that feast usually gave only the stereotyped 6s. 8d., apparently obligatory on most Saints' days. He paid the

<sup>1</sup> The purchasing power of an angel would be about three weeks' sustenance. In *The Household Expenses of the Earl of Northumberland*, running from about 1512-25, edited by Bishop Percy, the editor computes the weekly disbursements for a household consisting of 166 persons as working out at £6 os. 5½d. each per annum, or 2s. 3¼d. per week, so that board wages might be assumed to stand at about 3d. a day. Henry VIII allowed 20d. a week to his under servants, 4d. a day to the more favoured, as I find in the various manuscript account books of the king.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VII," pp. 85-133.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 21,480.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Astle's Appendix to vol. xii of Henry's *History of Great Britain*.

fees of the prisoners in the gaols and also the debts for which they were imprisoned, if they did not exceed 40s., and, according to Grafton's *Chronicle*,<sup>1</sup> "some he relieved that were condemned in ten pounds." Is it then so remarkable that in inaugurating a special service, calling attention with some pomp to the divine blessing on his assumption of the throne, he should use so important a coin? I am not saying that there is any certainty that the angel was not already so used by Edward IV, inasmuch as the absence of all mention of healing in certain household regulations of Edward<sup>2</sup> may also be advanced with regard to other monarchs, witness the like silence in several account books of Henry VIII,<sup>3</sup> who is proved to have healed by the items entered in other documents by Bryan Tuke,<sup>4</sup> Treasurer of the Chamber. But given that, as usually believed, Henry VII was the first monarch to bestow gold, let us remember that, as Dr. Crawford points out, the expense, even at the then relatively high value of money, was not very great, judging from the evidence at hand in the Chamber Accounts from October 20th, 1499 to May 20th, 1502, the period selected by this author for his research in Henry's Privy Purse charges.<sup>5</sup>

Nevertheless, the angel was no mean gift; it weighed 80 grains of standard gold and, being a doctor's fee, was very suitable to the healing purpose.<sup>6</sup> The earliest record upon which I have chanced

<sup>1</sup> Grafton *Chronicle*, edition of 1809, vol ii, p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Niger Domus*, see *ante*, note <sup>4</sup>, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 21481 from 1509-1518, and Arundel MS. 97, from 1537-8 to 1541-2, contain church offerings, etc., but make no mention of healing. The same may be said of Exchequer Various, Bundle 420, No. 11, from 1529-1531, at the Record Office. Most of the Household books contain the Maundy expenses, and various small payments such as might be included in the Privy Purse, under which department the healing was administered.

<sup>4</sup> Henry VIII Privy Purse Accounts, containing mention of healing between 1529 and 1532, may be found in Bryan Tuke's Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 20,030, and Le Neve's extracts from the same, Lansdowne MS. 737.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 50 and P.R.O., Exchequer Various, Bundle 415, No. 3. John Heron's Account.

<sup>6</sup> The Angel-noble, valued at 6s. 8d., was a doctor's habitual fee, and curiously enough after the coin had risen in value and been finally withdrawn from coinage, the term "noble," signifying 6s. 8d., was still used by Dr. Edward Browne,

is amongst entries from the Household Accounts of Henry VII made by Craven Ord.<sup>1</sup> It is under date December 24th, in this king's seventh regnal year, 1491, and reads: "For heling of a seke body this day 6s. 8d."<sup>2</sup> The same extract was quoted by Samuel Bentley in his *Excerpta Historica*, with a note to say that in the Privy Purse expenses of Henry VIII this sum was increased to 7s. 6d., the consequence of the enhanced price of the angel.<sup>3</sup> At the end of his notebook Ord again quotes, under date June 28th, 1505: "For helying of 4 sekemen, 26s. 8d."<sup>4</sup> These extracts were made from the series of accounts kept by the Treasurer of the King's Chamber, John Heron, now mostly preserved in the Public Record Office; but Thomas

who, writing to his father in 1682, says that the salary at St. Bartholomew's Hospital where he had just been appointed physician was "quarterly nine pounds and a noble for the patients within the home and for out-patients at Easter fifteen pounds, which comes to fifty-two poundes and a noble a year." See *Works of Sir Thomas Browne*, vol. iii, p. 480, edition of 1852, edited by Simon Wilkin. This is the more remarkable as the angel had continued to be the established fee irrespective of its rise in value, and under Henry VIII, when it stood at 7s. 6d., was still paid to the doctor, 20 angels being delivered for a "phisician called Doctor Nicholas," on Feb. 4th, 1532, equalling £7 10s. See *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, p. 192.

<sup>1</sup> Addit. MS. Brit. Mus. 7099, purchased at the sale of Ord's MSS. in 1829. During Ord's service at the Exchequer he made selections, which he entered in two small notebooks, of the Household Expenses of Henry VII and VIII.

<sup>2</sup> See Craven Ord's Addit. MS. 7099, p. 2. I have been unable to find out whence Ord obtains this extract. We learn from Dr. A. P. Newton's "The King's Chamber, under the Early Tudors," *English Historical Review*, July, 1917, that "during Craven Ord's service in the exchequer he made selections from the payments of Henry VII and Henry VIII in an indiscriminating manner." His notebooks, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 7099, for the reign of Henry VII and 7100 for that of Henry VIII, are useful, but being merely extracts taken somewhat at random, they give no indications of the numbers healed, and the fact that only five cases of healing are reported by him between 1491 and 1505 proves nothing, for we have evidence of many other cures, within the same period, notably in 1499-1500, and Brit. Mus. MS. Addit. MS. 21480, whence Ord made many of his extracts, whilst it extends in larger matters from 1499 to 1505, only gives the Privy Purse accounts from April to September, 1505.

<sup>3</sup> *Excerpta Historica*, p. 87, published 1831. Bentley makes no further reference to healing.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 7099, p. 93. I find this entry, "for helying of iiij Sekemen xxvj<sup>s</sup>. viij<sup>d</sup>," on June 28th in Henry VII's twentieth year in Heron's accounts, Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 21480, which at that time belonged to Ord.

Astle, through whose hands some of them had already passed, had *circa* 1790 contributed an appendix to Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain*, selecting a different example of healing. Astle, quoting an entry in Henry's fourteenth regnal year, 1498-9, writes: "Item for heling a seke maid 6s. 8d.," and apparently non-conversant with the coinage, adds a note: "perhaps the piece of gold given by the King in touching for the evil. Q. If there was such a piece of coin?"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Crawford goes to the fountain head at the Record Office and searches through Henry's fifteenth to eighteenth regnal years, whence he gives many extracts. To these, I have been able to add several others from the same book,<sup>2</sup> and without saying definitely that my research into even one year was exhaustive, seeing the ease with which one may miss an entry in the many pages of ornate handwriting, I find that between October, 1499, and the following July inclusive, Henry touched 26 persons, of whom seven were presented to him in one day.<sup>3</sup> In the following year plague reigned, and probably this is the reason why neither Dr. Crawford nor I have noticed any more healing items in this manuscript volume until the February of the seventeenth year, a gap of seventeen months.<sup>4</sup> The total expense required, therefore, from October, 1499,

<sup>1</sup> Appendix v to vol. vi of Henry's *History of Great Britain*, ed. 1771-93.

<sup>2</sup> Exchequer Accounts Various, Bundle 415, No. 3. See also Dr. Crawford's shorter extract on his p. 50, mentioning the healing of thirteen persons.

<sup>3</sup> Henry's regnal year runs from August 22nd. The following extracts are from his fifteenth year, 1499-1500. The actual dates are approximate only, as several days are sometimes grouped together.

Week ending October 26th, "Item for heling of ij seke folkes, xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. November 15th, "Item for heling of ij seke bodys xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. November 22nd, "Itm for helying of a seke body vjs viij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. February 28th, "Item for heling of a seke body vjs viij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. March 1st to 6th, "Itm for heling of ij seke folkes xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. March 21st, "Item for heling of vij seke folkes xlvjs viij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. April 5th, "Item for heling of ij seke folkes xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>."

Do April 16th, "Itm for heling of iiij seke folkes xxvjs viij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. July 5th, "Itm for heling of a sekeman vjs viij<sup>d</sup>."

Do. July 11th-16th, "Item for heling of iij seke folkes xx<sup>s</sup>."

<sup>4</sup> The seventeenth regnal year begins August 22nd, 1501. The first healing entry I found was in the week of February 26th, 1501-2, "Item for heling of a

to May, 1502, inclusive, would be covered by £11, or taking the higher average of the nine months between the first-mentioned date and the following July, when plague probably intervened, the sum would amount to £7 13s. 4d. This is not an alarming amount for the expenditure of a king who was content to scatter largess on Good Friday to the extent of £6 3s. in groats and £50 in half-groats, irrespective of his Maundy gifts of the previous day.<sup>1</sup>

All other accounts of Henry VII through which I have searched, have dealt with matters of receipts, obligations and debts on a larger scale, and only one so far as I could see of these has notices of healing, namely Brit. Mus. Addit MS. 21,480, from which, as we have seen, Ord abstracted some notes. A solitary entry concerning touching: "Item for helying of iiij Sekemen xxvj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>," cast light on touching in June of the year 1505, in accounts running from April to August in that year, and alone rewarded the time I bestowed on this manuscript. So far, therefore, Ord's untraced reference to a "healing" in 1491 alone shows that Henry by that time was bestowing 6s. 8d. on his patients, and it is with regret that we cannot be more precise with regard to the moment when he arranged his church rubric.

Instituted by our first Tudor king, the healing service was, according to William Beckett, a writer of the early eighteenth century, founded on an ancient holy exorcism which he prints in

seke man vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>." March 16th, "Item for heling ij seke folkes xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>," and the last was of May 20th, "Item for helying of ij seke folkes xiijs iiij<sup>d</sup>." The book ends at the beginning of the eighteenth year. We have thus 33 cases in rather less than three years, of which 26 are within nine months of one another.

<sup>1</sup> Exchequer Accounts Various, Bundle 415, No. 3. Public Record Office, Henry VII, April, 1500. The following year the groats were £8 14s., and the demi-groats £21, and in the seventeenth year the groats £6 12s. 6d., the half-groats £60. Henry VIII's Good Friday extra alms appear also on a variable scale, see Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 20,030 in his thirtieth regnal year. "Paid in Almesse by the Kinges Comandement on Good Friday xl<sup>s</sup>," whilst in the twenty-second year we read, "Delivered to the Kinges Almosiner, to be by him distributed in the way of Kinges almes to divers pore people at the holy time of Easter C li." See Exchequer Various, P.R.O., Bundle 420, No. 11.

his *Free and Impartial Enquiry*.<sup>1</sup> He attributes the introduction of the gold amulet to Henry, saying " We are to observe that it does not appear that the use of the gold was established before the ceremony of Henry the Seventh in which its manner of being used is directed."<sup>2</sup> Beckett also gives the office used by Henry, and in more accessible form it may be read as printed by Dr. Crawford,<sup>3</sup> who chooses for reproduction the version with the English rubric which was translated in the time of James II, who found the innovations of Elizabeth and James I too " Protestant " for his notions.<sup>4</sup> I hope to publish the service as used by Charles II when concluding, in our next volume, my account of healing, and it is only necessary to say now that at all times the ritual consisted of prayers and of portions from the scripture, and that the sick man kneeling before the king was first stroked by the royal hand, and then, after more prayers, the angel comes on the scene. " The King shall lay his hand upon the Sore of the Sick Person " reads the rubric ; then follow a few versicles and a second gospel from which the words : " Erat lux vera quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum " are to be " repeated so long as the King shall be crossing the Sore of the Sick Person with an Angell Noble, and the Sick Person to have the same Angel hanged about his Neck and wear it until he be full whole." Here, then, in the time of Henry VII is our first absolute certainty since the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *A Free and Impartial Enquiry into the Antiquity and Efficacy of Touching for the Cure of the King's Evil*, by William Beckett, published 1722, pp. 51-52, and Appendix vi, Beckett, and Dr. Crawford also, see the latter's p. 56, refer to the existence of another exorcism printed in Rome in 1584, which contains other points of similarity with the healing service.

<sup>2</sup> *Beckett*, p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Appendix No. VII and Dr. Crawford, p. 52, also Brit. Mus. 1037 a.18, in duodecimo in English ; and in Latin, Brit. Mus. 6.b.10 and 340 c.101 in quarto and octavo respectively, but the rubric in all three is in English.

<sup>4</sup> " In 1686 A.D. when James II was striving to lead back the erring nation to the Roman Catholic fold, the King's Printer issued two volumes slightly different in form, entitled ' The Ceremonies for the Healing of them that be Diseased with the King's Evil used in the time of King Henry VII '." See Dr. Crawford, p. 52.

Edward III of the numismatic side of the question, but the exact date when this rubric was first arranged is still in doubt.

Before finally leaving the period of Henry VII, let us glance for a moment at the evolution in the artistic type of the angel coinage which is noticeable in his reign. In one of the *Memorabilia* published by the Medici Society, Mr. G. F. Hill has shown us various renderings in statuary and paintings of St. Michael between the fifth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> The figure is mostly represented draped or in plain armour, whether as the slayer of plague, symbolized by the dragon or devil, or as the weigher of souls. It is in the latter capacity, on a fifteenth-century wall-painting in South Leigh Church, Oxfordshire, that we find the Archangel, as in the earlier coinages, with legs and arms covered with feathers.<sup>2</sup> By the courtesy of Mr. Arthur Gardner, I am permitted to reproduce his photograph of this painting, as we now see it, on a slightly larger scale than it had already appeared in the *Memorabilia*. It is interesting to us, in that we see the English conception of St. Michael "habited," as wrote Mr. Waller, describing, in 1873, the wall-painting then recently discovered, "in a closely fitting embroidered jupon, the arms and legs in plumose scales, a convention in very common use in the representation of the Heavenly Host in the fifteenth century."<sup>3</sup> "The details of the angel," continued Mr. Waller, "are precisely similar to the treatment observed in the sculptured figures of the Heavenly Host in the Beauchamp Chapel in St. Mary's, Warwick."<sup>4</sup> Now, in the reign of

<sup>1</sup> *Memorabilia*, No. 114. "St. Michael the Archangel."

<sup>2</sup> This wall-painting, which occupies a space between the south entrance and a window in the south wall, measures 11 ft. by 10 ft. It was fully described by the late Mr. J. G. Waller in 1873, in the *Royal Archaeological Journal*, p. 35 *et seq.*, vol. xxx. This writer also made use of Mr. Gardner's photograph in an extra-illustrated copy of another article on the subject of wall-paintings, written two years earlier in the *Surrey Archaeological Society's* vol. v, which he presented to the Society of Antiquaries for their library. He then wrote that the South Leigh paintings were restored, but that the repairs consisted principally in details concerning the Virgin's figure, etc., and not affecting that of St. Michael.

<sup>3</sup> *Recent Discoveries of Wall-paintings at Chaldon, Surrey, Wisborough Green, Sussex, and South Leigh, Oxford*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> In a wall-painting in the Chapel of the Trinity at Stratford-on-Avon ascribed to the early fifteenth century, depicting the murder of Beckett, an angel is portrayed

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ST. MICHAEL.

*(From a Fifteenth-Century Wall-Painting in South Leigh Church, Oxfordshire.)*







Henry VII these plumose scales began to give way on the angels to cross-hatching on the legs and a plain breastplate, tending towards the armour worn by Saint Michael in Italian paintings of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and whilst these feathers are seen under Edward IV, Henry VI, and in the first coinage of Henry VII, the second angel of the last-mentioned king is differently clothed. Feathers on the hips were, however, retained in an altered form and appear markedly on the coins of the immediately succeeding monarchs inclusive of James I.

The reign of Henry VIII was signalized, as Sir John Evans held, by the making of a particular angel with an annulet, not as a mint mark, but as an indication in what place the coin should be bored, without defacing the king's name or the head of the saint. From the records of touching by this pleasure-loving monarch Dr. Crawford gives an abridgement from Nicolas's *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, amounting to 59 patients in various localities in three years, between January, 1529-30 and December, 1532.<sup>1</sup> To these I must add two certain and six more uncertain cases which had escaped

with similar plumose scales all over the body. See Plate xv of Thomas Fisher's *Stratford-on-Avon*.

<sup>1</sup> From Sir N. H. Nicolas's *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*, Dr. Crawford, see *The King's Evil*, p. 58, obtained the following figures. "1530: January 8th, touched 2; January 27th (at York Place), touched 4; April 5th, touched 4; April 25th, touched 5; May 26th, touched 5; 1531: August 26th, touched 1; September 6th, touched 2; September 11th, touched 2; September 18th, touched 2; September 26th, touched 5; October 23rd, touched 1; 1532: April 2nd, touched 9; May 9th, touched 2; May 31st, touched 3; June 13th, touched 2; June 27th, touched 1; August 15th (at Woodstock) touched 2; August 27th (at King's Langley), touched 1; September 17th, touched 2; October 8th, touched 1; November 11th (at Calais), touched 1; December 1st, touched 2."

To these I must add one child healed on July 28th, 1531, and another on July 26th, 1532, and there are gifts "to iij sike women at Grenewiche," on May 19th, 1531, and to "a pour man that was sike in wyndesor," on the 9th July, and "ij sike men at Waltham," on the previous 1st of October. See Brit. Mus. Addit. 20,030, folios, 40, 70 b, 75 b, 78, and 122 b, and *Nicolas*, pp. 77, 135, 145, 150, and 237. The printed volume was edited by Nicolas from the above MS., but, as it is defective, he supplied such omissions as he could from the notes and extracts made by Peter le Neve in 1723, now pp. 109-31, Egerton MS., in the British Museum, but even thus payments of the last days of April, 1531, and parts of May are missing.

Dr. Crawford's notice, for though transcribed by Nicolas in copying the manuscript, now Brit. Mus. Addit. 20,030, with which I have compared the printed volume, this editor did not record these other cures in his index. By "uncertain" I mean instances where only sickness and not healing is specified, but the gift of an angel to each "sike" man or woman is significant that they were amongst those whom the king's hand had blessed, for Henry's usual response to beggars was a crown or less. If an angel, namely "vij<sup>s</sup> vjd," the sum at which it was then current, was given for other than healing purposes, the reason in "rewarde" or "by waye of almesse" is usually noted, but not in the above instances. Dr. Crawford shows that these healings were held wherever Henry might chance to be, at York Place, Woodstock, Langley, or Calais, and we may add Havering, Windsor, and Waltham. This practice, of touching in his royal progresses, suggests at the first glance the reason why so many as three coins were found pierced for healing in the small hoard of gold coins discovered at St. Albans in 1872, and described by Sir John Evans whilst making the above remarks on the annulet.<sup>1</sup> The purse must, however, have been dropped in or after 1559-60, for it contained a half-sovereign of Elizabeth of that date and type, *Ruding*, Plate X, Fig. 2. There seems no reason why three touchpieces of the deceased king should be found together; unless the Almoner or Clerk of the Closet of Elizabeth should have carried Henry's healing pieces. Of 29 coins in the hoard, five were angels, of the type of *Ruding*, Plate V, Fig. 6, or *Snelling*, Plate II, Fig. 18, or *Ruding*, Plate VI, Fig. 6, bearing three differing mint marks. Whether, however, they were distinguished by portcullis or castle, or fleur-de-lis, whether the abbreviation for France read FR' or F', the annulet was in all at the end of the legend, and three of the five were "neatly perforated with a small hole through the centre of the annulet, and were thus adapted for suspension."<sup>2</sup> In Sir John's

<sup>1</sup> "On a Hoard of English Coins found at St. Albans," *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii, New Series, pp. 186-198.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190. Had the Elizabeth coin been absent, the pierced angels of Henry VIII would act as touchpieces for Edward VI, for it is by no means unlikely

opinion they were thus made in preparation for piercing, but in view of the Elizabethan coin of 1559-60 in the hoard, the theory that the pierced angels were actually touchpieces seems difficult to sustain, unless, as is quite possible, the angels of earlier sovereigns were sometimes used at this period, as they later certainly were under Charles II.

With regard to this peculiar coinage of angels, it is matter of regret that I have found at present no information of the numbers applying for healing to Henry VIII in his later years.

The collection of royal ceremonies of this period, preserved in the Heralds' College, gives no directions concerning touching, although the Maundy washing of feet and the blessing of the Cramp-ring services are described at length.<sup>1</sup> The interesting *Ordinances for the Household made at Eltham in the XVIIIth year of Henry VIII*, published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1790, contains no mention of healing and little concerning other charities.<sup>2</sup> The British Museum manuscripts, Addit. MS. 21,481, and Arundel MS. 97, Household account from 1509 to 1518 and 1538 to 1541-2, respectively, contain much charitable detail of "almes, Maundy and offrings," but so far as my search revealed no reference to touching. In the middle, however, of the reign we can have recourse to the very prolific English manuscript running from November, 1529, to December,

that pending the restoration of a pure currency, Edward VI used his father's angels. The hoard contained three half-sovereigns of the types *Ruding*, Plate VII, Fig. 8, and *Snelling*, Plate III, Fig. 11, but no other coins bearing Edward's name; we must, however, accept as such ten half-sovereigns bearing Henry's title, but with the youthful head, type *Ruding*, Plate VI, Fig. 12, *Snelling*, Plate II, Fig. 21. These according to modern writers are of Edward VI's early coinage. See our note 2 on p. 94. Other coins of Henry's, notably one in the same hoard, bear the annulet as well as another mint mark, and occasionally it is so placed that it would not serve for piercing. A half-sovereign as shown by *Ruding* on his Plate VI, Fig. 11—weight 96 grs.—was in the collection, and we have no indication that such a coin was intended to be pierced. The Elizabethan coin, type *Ruding*, Plate X, Fig. 2—weight 84½ at 22 carats—should have nothing to do with touching, but there is always a possibility that even Elizabeth might still use her father's angels, which were still current.

<sup>1</sup> *College of Arms M.7*. The book belonged to William Hawley, Clarenceaux Herald, who was Rouge Croix in 1509 and Clarenceaux in 1537; he died in 1557.

<sup>2</sup> From a copy in the Harleian Library, No. 642.

1532, to which I have before referred, in the British Museum Addit. MS. 20,030, or to its still more accessible form as published by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas in 1827 under the title of the *Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII*,<sup>1</sup> and herein notices of healing abound. We find Henry far more charitable than we should expect, and if his losses at games, £324 5s. 10d., in these three years and his outlay on jewels, £10,801 8s. 9d., besides £1517 to his goldsmith for plate, greatly exceed his almsgiving, we are yet glad to find frequent gifts to the poor. Besides the monthly £10 already noted, we follow him redeeming, as his father had done, poor persons from prison<sup>2</sup> at the price of 10s., or giving £3 6s. 8d. to "a pouver man, that had xiiij childre for ther Relief."<sup>3</sup> Again we see him indemnifying persons "banyshed the town by reason of the plage."<sup>4</sup> Even beggars,

<sup>1</sup> The MS. is one of the series of Bryan Tuke's account books as Treasurer of the Chamber to Henry VIII, and extends from January, 1529-30, to the end of 1532. Sir Nicholas, in his preface, mentions various other manuscripts then in the Chapter House, but implies that he selected this as giving a particularly lucid idea of Henry's private expenditure. We learn from Dr. Arthur Percival Newton's interesting article in the *English Historical Review*, under date July, 1917, entitled "The King's Chamber under the Early Tudors," that John Heron kept an elaborate series of such account books under Henry VII and VIII until he died in 1522. These are now mostly amongst the countless other similar ledgers catalogued as Exchequer Accounts Various at the Public Record Office, where I have looked through some and had hoped to have examined a greater number, had not their temporary withdrawal from public use during the war interrupted my search. Many of those in the British Museum I have seen, but with the exception of Addit. MS. 21,480 and Addit. MS. 20,030, few of these refer to healing. Extracts were published by the Camden Society, vols. 67 and 84, amongst the *Trevelyan Papers*, from some volumes containing the accounts of Bryan Tuke (now Exchequer Accts. Various, Bundle 420, No. 11) and Sir William Cavendish (Exchequer Accts. Various, Bundle 426, Nos. 5 and 6), the successors of Heron. The original MSS. were subsequently presented by Sir W. C. Trevelyan to the Public Record Office, and throw some light on other charitable expenditure of Henry VIII, Edward VI and Mary, but search in the manuscripts has produced no items of healing so far as the touchpieces are concerned.

<sup>2</sup> November 6th, 1531, *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 173. I give the references to the printed volume as the more convenient.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 93, December 8th, 1530.

<sup>4</sup> An entry of £18 8s. appears on October 13th, 1530: "for such persons as were expelled the towne of the Greenwich in the time of the plague." *Ibid.*, pp. 79 and 173. It is possible that this and another outbreak of plague mentioned

discouraged as a rule by the Tudors, received help, and we read<sup>1</sup> of the gift of 4s. 8d. to a "poure woman that asked of the King for the love of Saint George." The angel, now rated at 7s. 6d., appears in these accounts in payments for various purposes—for travelling expenses, as the price of goods, occasionally as a fee, but more often for card or shooting debts.<sup>2</sup> We find hawks costing six angels apiece; nine angels are paid for the posting outlay of an envoy to Calais, and the servants' wages for a day's hunting frequently figure at one angel each. Occasionally disbursements of "angelottes" occur. Now and again Henry staked in "corons" valued at 4s. 8d. each and he frequently made gifts of 5s., probably the English crown of the Double-Rose, which stood at that sum. The crown-soleil at 4s. 6d. often comes into play, especially in regard to payments to ambassadors, but the king for betting or gambling usually required angels. One entry runs: "Itm̃ the same daye" [April vi, 1530] "paid to domyngo," one of Henry's boon companions, "by the Kinges Com̃ande, for so muche money lost at playe <sup>xx</sup>iiii li" [£80] "in Angelles and the same daye deliũd into the Kinges graces owne handes xx li in angells = cxijli xs."<sup>3</sup> The coins here specified as placed in royal keeping were probably needed for "dyce," "pryckes"<sup>4</sup> in April, 1532, in reference to the expenditure of 25s. for the removal from Court of seven cases, would account for an interval of more than a year between May, 1530, and July, 1531, and of a month between April 2nd and May 9th in 1532 in any mention of healing. But the dates of the healings seemed at all times more due to the king's presence at some particular place where the scrofulous were resident than recurrent at any established seasons, unless at Easter.

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 150, July 31st, 1531.

<sup>2</sup> Curiously enough the old sum of 6s. 8d. is frequently also paid "in rewarde" for "swete oranges," "peres" or other gifts presented to the king, and so late as his twentieth to twenty-third regnal year, 1529-31, this is suggestive that the George Noble was a commoner coin than we had reason to imagine, for the angel was then at 7s. 6d. See *Exchequer Accounts Various*, P.R.O., Bundle 420, No. 11, Bryan Tuke's Accounts.

<sup>3</sup> The fine gold sovereign, of which the angel, at 7s. 6d., was the third part, stood at 22s. 6d., and it is noticeable in these accounts that "c li. in angells" is always reckoned at "cxijli xs." in crown gold.

<sup>4</sup> See *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 37, also pp. 226-7, June 27th and 30th, 1532, when Henry loses large sums in angels at "pryckes" usually at "iij angels a shotte." The prycke was a term for a peg in the centre of the target, hit in archery.

or "pope Julius,"<sup>1</sup> for such items abound, and on twelfth night in 1530 we again read: "deliūd to the Kinges Grace at gamyng c li in Angelles," but there is occasionally a possibility that he required this particular coin for healing. Henry touched nine persons in the month of April referred to above, of whom four were presented to his touch on the day preceding the reception of the angels, and he might find it necessary to repay his almoner or cofferer, who it seems sometimes provided the coins. One entry is suggestive that Henry did not always himself hang the angel about the patient's neck, for we read: "Itm̃ the same daye [August 30th, 1532] paid to Maister hennage<sup>2</sup> for so moche money be him paied to a pouer woman the King heled at Langley vij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>."<sup>3</sup>

The word paid is always used with regard to the healing gift: "paied to ij pouer folke that wer heled of the Kinges sykeness xv<sup>s</sup>," "paied to a sike woman that the King heled vij<sup>s</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>," and so on. But we should remember that we are dealing with a privy purse account book, where all items are naturally set down in this form, whether in payment of debts, "rewardes" to persons, who brought gifts to Henry, or "by way of almesse." Let us place it to the credit side of this monarch's balance sheet that with all his tampering with the coinage he only reduced the standard of the angels by the small extent of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains. He retained the weight of 80 grains, issuing 72 angels to the lb., but he in 1526 raised the price to 7s. 6d. in his second coinage,<sup>4</sup> at 23  $3\frac{1}{2}$  carats fine. In his third coinage of

<sup>1</sup> Pope Julius, called sometimes Pope July, was a card game for four or more persons, possibly very similar to our Pope Joan. See *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Heneage, knighted in 1537, was chief gentleman of the Privy Chamber and uncle to another Thomas Heneage who died in 1594 and who was Vice-Chamberlain and Treasurer of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth. The first Sir Thomas Heneage, as above, is also mentioned in the *Privy Purse Expenses of Princess Mary* as the bearer of money from the king, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> *Privy Purse Expenses*, p. 249. Brit. Mus. Addit. 20,030, f. 128b.

<sup>4</sup> See Mint-report of October 30th, 1526, 18 Hen. VIII, quoted by Mr. Symonds in his "Documentary Evidence for the Coinage of Henry VII and VIII," vol. x of *British Numismatic Journal*, p. 139. In this year crowns and half-crowns of 22 c. were ordered.

1542<sup>1</sup> he reduced the standard to 23 carats, at the same time again enhancing the price to 8s., and in this third coinage the half-angels and quarter-angels followed the angels. Were it not that the coins rose in value, and the royal church offerings did not vary accordingly, one might be tempted to suggest that the fine gold was continued for ceremonial presentation. We know that in spite of his systematic spoliation of the Church, Henry adhered to the practice of his predecessors in presenting set gifts on certain occasions, and on these festivals would give the customary pure gold. The George Noble was of standard fineness and was evidently used as a church offering, for in Bryan Tuke's account<sup>2</sup> for the years 1529-1532 we find the presentations noted at 6s. 8d. or 13s. 4d., and very rarely at 7s. 6d., the sum at which the angel was by this time rated.

The sum of 6s. 8d. appears usually alone every Sunday, but at Christmas or Easter separate gifts figure at different parts of the service. "Item for the Kinges offering at taking his rights vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>." . . . . "Item for his offring at High Masse xiii<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>," and so on.<sup>3</sup> Thus Henry's offering, specified in his privy purse expenses, is set down on Good Friday,<sup>4</sup> on June 10th, 1530,<sup>5</sup> and on June 16th, 1531, or again as sent to St. Thomas's shrine at Canterbury as amounting to xx<sup>s</sup>,<sup>6</sup> a sum which at that time, when the sovereign stood at 22s. 6d., must have been made up of three George nobles or of foreign coins, then largely permitted in circulation.<sup>7</sup> The issue

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, p. 150, May 15th, 1442. Mr. Symonds notes that the text-books generally give the year 1543, but he shows that 1542 is correct.

<sup>2</sup> *Trevelyan Papers*, Part I, printed by the Camden Society, vol. 67, p. 136, and P.R.O., *Exchequer Various*, 420-11.

<sup>3</sup> Bryan Tuke's Household Book, *Trevelyan Papers*, Part I, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *Exchequer Accounts Various*, Bundle 420, No. 11, f. 163.

<sup>5</sup> Bryan Tuke's Household Book, 153. This offering of twenty shillings included three items, one gift at the high altar on leaving Windsor, one to St. George and one to "King Henry of Wyndesore."

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> A number of payments are noted in "crownes soleil," or "crounes of the sonne," valued at 4s. 6d. each, but mostly on foreign affairs, embassies to Rome, etc. *ibid.*, pp. 142, 150-1, but "ix angelles" also appear in this connection as paid to an envoy from Calais to Paris, p. 142.



of a sovereign of 23 carats, valued at 20s., suffered, in 1545, a further debasement to 22 carats and finally, in 1546, to 20 carats, but this degradation, as we have seen, was not shared by the angel. Two angels and an angelet at 8s. and 4s. respectively would still make up the sum, if 20s. were required for presentation. But Henry did not despise to make gifts of his 22-carat gold, for we find him giving his new crown at 5s. to "our lady in the walls at Calais." At certain times, however, greater gifts were required,<sup>1</sup> and Henry at his coronation offered £24 and subsequently on the same day £16<sup>2</sup> at "ye masse."

At the Epiphany, with myrrh and frankincense, a special gold offering was made, and in the reign of James I it took the form of the beautiful bezant designed by Charles Anthony<sup>3</sup> at the price of £47 7s. 7d. We may wonder whether the rare six angel piece of Edward VI, *Ruding*, VIII, 3, worth, according to the date of coinage, from 40s. to 48s., was an Epiphany gift, but of this we have no evidence. Henry VIII's presentation on "twelf day" was, for his 22nd regnal year, 33s. 4d., namely five times his usual Sunday offering of 6s. 8d. Only gold could be offered on All Saints' Day, Michaelmas, Trinity Sunday, New Year's Day, Candlemas, Annunciation, Ascension, Corpus Christi, Christmas, Easter-day, Whitsunday, and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>4</sup> From such privy purse expenses as I have had the opportunity of studying

<sup>1</sup> From very early times we find certain days specified in which it was the Royal practice to offer gold only in church. Miede, Chamberlayne and other chroniclers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prove that these days, then called "Garther days" because the king and queen were attended by the knights in Garther dress, were always so distinguished. See Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia or Present State of England* at various dates, also Miede's *New State of England*.

<sup>2</sup> See Brit. Mus. Addit. 21,481, Household Book of Henry VIII, 1509-1518, f. 6b Sunday, 24th June.

<sup>3</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, vol. x, November 4th, 1604. According to Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia*, a bezant was also given at Christmas, Easter, Whitsuntide and All Saints.

<sup>4</sup> The patron saint's day of the sovereign was sometimes so celebrated, and some authorities add Saint John the Baptist's day and the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

I see that the Tudors Henry VII, Henry VIII and Edward VI always on Sundays offered "vi<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>" or more in church, and I have somewhere seen it stated of Mary that she always gave gold after her accession to the throne, but I cannot trace the reference and only mention the memory for what it is worth, with the suggestion that herein possibly lies an explanation, apart from the predominating questions of foreign exchange, of the fact that from the time when Henry VIII introduced crown gold to the days of Charles II, when the angel gold was replaced by a touchpiece, the lower standard never completely drove the higher out of the field. My suggestion has special reference to the continuance of the coinage of the angel in the time of Charles I, for with regard to the Tudors the position is by no means clear. Curiously enough, the church offerings specified in account books of various treasurers throughout the reign of Henry VIII remain unchanged at 6s. 8d. on Sundays and 13s. 4d. or 20s. on more special occasions, although the George noble was no longer issued under the indenture of 1542, and no other coinage corresponded with these sums.<sup>1</sup>

In the healing ceremony we have the necessity for the angel and in the lesser church offerings for its parts. For instance, we know that for this purpose Edward IV "on Christmas day, Ester-day, Whitsonday and All Halowen-day at eche of thees festes" gave "vis viiid, called a noble of golde"—or as we should now designate his newly-established coin, an angel. Other days, as mentioned above, also called forth the gift of his new "noble," but the king's daily offering was 7d. a day, amounting annually to only £10 3s. 8d., because of the special donations on 17 days out of the 365, and this presentation took the form of "greete preeses of a greete plate of golde" given to "the Dean of the King's chapell of household."<sup>2</sup>

At. St. Thomas's shrine at Canterbury Edward IV offered "three florynes of golde" from his "privy coffers, yerely."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Niger Domus Regis Edw. IV*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, it is perhaps somewhat hazardous to suggest the possibility that Edward III's rare florin, half-florin and quarter-florin, with their very short career, may

In Edward VI's reign we have very minute details of the king's Good Friday offering of xx<sup>s</sup>, and a succession of gifts at Easter "on the Resurrection," namely vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> as an offering. Again "vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup> at the high mass this Sunday," the same sum "at taking his rights," and again during some later portion of the service, xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>.<sup>1</sup> The daily alms of Edward VI, like those of his grandfather, father and sisters, are represented by the sum of 37s. 11d. per week, besides the monthly privy alms which increased to £20 under Edward as against the £10 of Henry, whilst Mary's reached in "prevye almes" £1800 besides £75 16s. 8d. for daily alms, £178 19s 11d. on Maundy Thursday, and £200 as church offerings paid "To the Dean of the Chapel," in the course of one year, according to Sir William Cavendish's accounts, from July, 1553, to the same month in 1554.<sup>2</sup>

But enough of these early oblations; we must return to the healing question; and it is a matter of regret that no mention of the King's Evil is found in the latest privy purse accounts of Henry VIII, which I have seen, namely those extending from May to September, 1542.<sup>3</sup> The angel had by this time reached 8s., and we should have been glad to ascertain whether the items concerning healing tallied with the Exchequer accounts.<sup>4</sup>

have been used in church offerings, possibly redeemed again in current money, and re-offered at the altar as the royal gift. The half-florin represented the little florin of Florence, valued under Edward I at 3s. 3d., which either in fact or kind was given at the Epiphany by this king and his successors. Gold, frankincense, and myrrh are still offered at this feast; the gold now takes the shape of 25 new sovereigns, which are subsequently distributed to poor and deserving persons in the parishes near St. James's Palace.

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Cavendish's accounts for the year 1547, in the *Trevelyan Papers*, Part i, p. 192, extracted from P.R.O., Exchequer Various, 426, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II. Camden Society's vol. 84, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> Stowe MS. Brit. Mus. 554.

<sup>4</sup> In Henry VIII's coinage in 1544-45 the text-books ascribe to him an issue of gold of 22 carats, but Mr. Symonds has shown from the Exchequer Accounts that 5761 lbs. Troy at 23 carats fine were coined between June, 1544, and March 31st, 1545, and none of 22 carats, although the coinage of the previous year had been very large. The 22-carat coinage became general in March, 1545, and the 20-carat in April, 1546, but no angels are mentioned by Mr. Symonds of the reduced standard.

It is somewhat doubtful whether to Henry VIII or Edward VI belongs the coin with which we must now deal. It seems hardly fair to Henry or Edward to base an accusation of issuing a false touchpiece, in imitation of the gold, on a silver-gilt angel, to which my attention was drawn by our member, Mr. A. Baldwin, and which is illustrated below.



SILVER-GILT ANGEL OF HENRY VIII.

We know, however, from Mr. Symonds,<sup>1</sup> that silver angels were coined between 1546 and 1548-9, and the coin in this metal may in truth have been struck with no thought of fraud, for this example in particular may owe its gilding to any passer of false currency, who had obtained a genuine silver angel. The piece in question differs slightly from those to which Sir John Evans referred, in not having the annulet either in the legend or as "gunhole" on the ship, which should be present with the mint-mark lis. There are, moreover, mistakes in the legend, which give colour to the idea, that though contemporary, this coin may be a deliberate forgery. Be this as it may, Henry VIII, or the advisers of his successor, did undoubtedly coin, though they may not have issued, silver angels, and what more likely design would be used than the type of the outgoing piece, which Henry did not reproduce either in 22-carat or 20-carat gold?

See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. x, pp. 156-161. The latest Household Accounts of Henry VIII which I have searched are at the British Museum—Arundel MS. 97 of the 29th-33rd year, 1537-8-1541, and at Public Record Office—Exchequer Various, Bundle 420, No. 11, Bryan Tuke's account for the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd year, 1529-33; and the same Treasurer's MS., Stowe 554, running from May to September in Henry VIII's 34th regnal year, 1542, and these make, so far as I could see, no mention of healing.

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xi, p. 338.

But are we justified in believing that a silver angel was used for touching, instead of the pieces, still current, at 23 carats fine ?

The gilt angel bears the mint mark lis, which would naturally be used by a forger of Henry VIII's last fine issue.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, this mint mark lis is equally suggestive that, like the "young-faced" sovereigns, some of which bear the same mark, the silver angels were made for Edward VI. But what is the story of this curious and unexplained issue noticed by Mr. Symonds amongst the Bristol coinage between the 1546, at the earliest, and 1548-9 at the latest ? The researches of Mr. Symonds led him to tell us that when Sir Thomas Chamberlain was, at the last-mentioned date, putting order into the mint affairs, mismanaged by Sir William Sharington, "among sundry items of bullion found in the mint, were three parcels of sterling silver weighing about 43 lbs., which, 'being coined with the print of angels' and valued at 4s. 10d. the ounce, amounted to £125."<sup>2</sup>

No charge was preferred against Sharington for uttering false angels, we must therefore believe that the coinage was authorized. But for what purpose would the king make a coin, which could easily be gilt and passed as a true angel ? Mr. Symonds says that the suggestion has been made to him that the king may have required touchpieces, but has himself an alternative theory that these silver pieces were struck as reckoning-counters, then much in fashion. This, indeed, is not improbable, although such pieces were not usually made in the English Royal Mints, and to me it seems also possible that Henry or Edward, in default of gold coins of pure standard, being unwilling to disappoint the people who came to him for healing, produced a silver substitute with no thought of gilding or imposing on the public. For whatever purpose made, we must conclude that someone had the sense to offer objections, pointing out how unwise it would be to circulate a piece so easily turned into false currency, and the parcels remained in the mint, there to be

<sup>1</sup> Kenyon's *Gold Coins*, plate ix, fig. 62.

<sup>2</sup> "The Bristol Mint of Henry VIII and Edward VI," by Henry Symonds. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th series, vol. xi, p. 338.

found by Chamberlain and returned to the melting pot. Mr. Symonds calls my attention to the fact that the adjoining entries in the accounts drew a distinction between the gilt and silver plate, and if the illustrated coin be a derelict from one of the three parcels, the gilding, old as it appears, could not be of original intention, for silver-gilt plate was valued, not at 4s. 10d., but at 5s. 8d. the ounce.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the coin is not pierced carries little weight, as the operation was not necessarily performed immediately after coining, but the large number of pieces in the parcels, reckoning them at the least at a shilling<sup>2</sup> apiece and therefore at some 2500 in number, does not appear suggestive that they were designed for touching—but rather for largess at the coronation or some such occasion of scattering jettons or as “casting-counters.”<sup>3</sup> I must leave my readers to decide whether in these circumstances the story of the silver angel may be regarded as indicating that Edward VI intended to meet a considerable demand for “touching.”

We have seen that the accounts<sup>4</sup> of the Treasurer of the Chamber for the first three years of the reign give no evidence of healing, though the Maundy is mentioned. Very little documentary evidence appears available on this subject, for in the reign of Edward VI we must regret the omission of all reference to the King's Evil in the young king's diary, filled as it is with information about his coinage, and his “remouings” from place to place.<sup>5</sup> He speaks of an outbreak

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 339.

<sup>2</sup> The piece illustrated is about the size of a sixpence, but much thicker, and weighs very nearly the same as a shilling of Edward VI.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Symonds treats of this possibility in the *English Historical Review*, July, 1917, pp. 438–9, in reviewing Mr. T. P. Barnard's *The Casting Counter and the Casting Board*. These counters were used for reckoning, but were more frequently made abroad than in England.

<sup>4</sup> I have usually referred to these documents in their more accessible form as printed in *Trevelyan Papers*, Parts i and ii, but they are to be seen at the Record Office under the heads of Exchequer Various, Bundle 426, No. 5, and 426, No. 6. Almost a duplicate but less complete of No. 5 is there catalogued Aug. Mis. 439.

<sup>5</sup> King Edward's Journal, Cottonian MSS., Nero CX, pp. 10–117, was printed by Dr. Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*, vol. ii, part ii, ed. of 1829, pp. 1–100. The Bishop modernized the spelling, and I have preferred to quote from the original in the British Museum.

of "the old sweat," as he termed the sweating-sickness in July, 1551, causing him to be "remoued to Ampton Court with fery few with me," whilst his own illness of "mesels" and the "small pokkes"<sup>1</sup> in the following April, 1552, would account for the absence of any Easter "Healings." It is by no means unusual in the young king's accounts to find "nil" written in the place where the Sunday church offering should figure, probably denoting his absence owing to ill-health.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear from a passage in Hamon L'Estrange's *Alliance of Divine Offices*, written in 1659, that Edward VI did touch for the Evil. "All along King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Elizabeth, hir reign, when the Strumosi, such as had the King's Evil, came to be touched," says this author, "the manner was then for her to apply the sign of the Cross to the Tumour."<sup>3</sup> This curiously ungrammatical pronouncement, together with a reference to the continuity of touching from the times of Edward the Confessor in Holinshed's Chronicle, written in 1577, decided Dr. Crawford<sup>4</sup> in believing that sometimes at least Edward healed.<sup>5</sup> Certainly the issue of an angel during the latter part of his reign in its pristine purity, is in favour of this theory. We learn, moreover, from Mr. Symonds's "English Coinages of Edward VI"<sup>6</sup> that an

<sup>1</sup> Edward's Diary, 37 (b) and 58 (b).

<sup>2</sup> See Sir William Cavendish's Accounts, second and third years of Edward VI, Public Records Office, Exchequer Accounts Various, Bundle 426, No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Alliance of Divine Offices*, ed. 1659, p. 250, and edition of 1690, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 66.

<sup>5</sup> In favour of the assumption that Edward VI touched may also be advanced the words of Andrew Borde, medical attendant to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's uncle. Borde wrote his *Breviary of Healthe* in the lifetime of Henry VIII, but it was published under Edward in 1547 and 1552, and again under his two sisters. Speaking of the King's Evil, Borde says: "For this matter let every man make frendes to the Kynges Majestie for it doth perteyne to a Kinge to helpe this infirmitie by the grace the which is given to a Kynge anynted." See edition of 1552, chap. 236. I have not seen the issue of 1547 quoted by Dr. Crawford, p. 59, and it is fair to mention that Borde died in 1549, so that he had no long opportunity of studying the practices of Edward. Slight alterations in the spelling in the many posthumous editions of the work show that they are not mere reprints, and any alterations thought desirable might have been made in 1552, '57, '75, '87 or '98, when the book reappeared.

<sup>6</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 130.

abortive effort was made by the young king in or about June, 1547, to coin some fine gold. "An order was given to the Tower authorities to mix bullion of 23-carat fine gold and 10 oz. fine silver respectively, but no money was wrought therefrom 'by reason of the King's urgent affairs,' " and the consequent waste in remelting the metals and converting them into lower standards, as Mr. Symonds tells us, "cost the Exchequer £73." This appears to me possibly indicative of a wish on Edward's part to coin angels bearing his own title at the rate and standard used by his father before his final debasement of the gold.

The angels struck in the name of Edward VI were ordered and might, therefore, have made their appearance, as is indeed commonly reported, on December 18th, 1550,<sup>1</sup> but Mr. Symonds gives reasons for believing that although they were projected at that date they did not see the light until 1551. As coined under the order of October 5th, 1551, they retained the weight of the angels issued in 1542 by Henry VIII, but whilst re-establishing a currency of 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, the value was raised to 10s. Half-angels were also coined at 5s.<sup>2</sup> As ordered in 1550 the angels would have been issued at 8s., the value which they had finally attained under the late king, and Dr. Kenyon believed that those bearing mint-mark ostrich head were thus valued.

We have seen that the question of Edward's church offerings is somewhat puzzling, for we still find 6s. 8d. entered on Sundays and Saints' days, and unless he made use of the George noble of his father, which by this time must have been very rare, or some foreign coin, the sum must have been made up by the help of silver. There is always the possibility that, as has been suggested with regard to the gold florins of Edward III, if a rare coin was given it might

<sup>1</sup> *Kenyon's Gold Coins*, p. III. To the order of December 18th, 1550, we might venture to suggest may belong the six angel pattern weighing 473 grains, namely 7 grains short of the desired 480. The roses in the legend are indicative of this period, being frequently used as stops so late as the year 1549.

<sup>2</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, "English Coinages of Edward VI," by Henry Symonds, pp. 144 and 152.



again be redeemed for subsequent use, and this was most likely the procedure with the Epiphany bezants.

We may call attention to the fact that though the pure gold was re-instituted by Edward VI, the sovereign, crown and half-crown at 22 carats were still coined<sup>1</sup> under the order of September 25th, 1551.

It is now generally received that Edward preferred the base coins of his earlier years to run in his predecessor's name.<sup>2</sup> We have, however, no evidence of angels struck at 20 carats nor 22 carats fine under either king. Even the better of these standards, the 22-carat pieces, were sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns and half-crowns only.<sup>3</sup>

We have seen that Sir John Evans called attention to the minute holes made in the centre of the annulet in the coins of Henry VIII.<sup>4</sup> Small as were the perforations, it is recorded of Mary I at a private healing, that she, when touching a man and three women, herself threaded the angels, and passing a ribbon through the tiny aperture, she hung the keepsake, thus slung, "round the neck of each of the patients, making them promise never to part with that coin save in case of extreme need."<sup>5</sup> Here we have the distinct indication of the coin itself being regarded as an amulet or at least as a keepsake.

<sup>1</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Evans, in *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xii, pp. 197-8, first advanced the theory that Edward used his father's name on his own base coins. Sir John substantiated his argument in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, vol. vi, pp. 159-160. The fact was later more firmly established by Mr. Symonds in *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xi, p. 346, and vol. xiv., pp. 153-155, and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, p. 127.

<sup>3</sup> Kenyon's *Gold Coins*, pp. 107-111, and "Edward VI and Durham House," by Henry Symonds, *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xiv, Fourth Series, pp. 140-141, and *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. xi, pp. 126 and 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xii, pp. 190-192. In connection with the suitability for piercing in the centre of an annulet, I may draw attention to the mint-mark with a pellet enclosed, in the angels of Edward IV. A pierced angel of this king is in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, but the hole is rather roughly made and not in the annulet.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 67, quoting a letter from the *Archives of Venice*, M.A. Faitta to Ippolito Chizzuola, London, May 3rd, 1556. See English translation in the *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, vol. vi, Part I, p. 436.

The Italian chronicler of this ceremony, which took place on April 4th, 1556, shows that she was very particular in not only touching, but pressing the spot where the sore was, "with her hands in the form of a cross," and also touching the place where the Evil showed itself with the gold piece, she "signed with this coin in the form of a cross." This sign was, as we have seen, continued by her sister Elizabeth,<sup>1</sup> but Hamon L'Estrange describes James I as "eminent and most remarkable" in "the great Prudence" he displayed "in this concernment."<sup>2</sup> He writes that the holy sign "raising cause of jealousies, as if some mysterious operation were imputed to it, that wise and learned King, not onely (with his son the late King) practically discontinued it, but ordered it to be expunged out of the Prayers relating to that Cure, which hath proceeded as effectually, that omission notwithstanding, as it did before."

The office used by Mary is contained in her manual, preserved in the Library of the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Westminster, and is illustrated by pictures of the Queen touching for the Evil, and blessing cramp-rings.<sup>3</sup>

Whether or not Henry VIII specially designed his angels for piercing,<sup>4</sup> it is certain that Mary not only caused her offerings to

<sup>1</sup> Tooker, in his *Charisma: Sive Donum Sanationis*, p. 96, published in 1597, describes Elizabeth's service and says "Ad quæ verba [erat lux vera] assurgit Maestas regia & singulis rursum aduocatis & reductis acceptoque aureo numo solidorum decem, perforato, actæna reuincto numismate, crucis signum qua parte morbus est facit," etc., etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Alliance of Divine Offices*, ed. 1659, p. 250.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford obtained permission to reproduce the picture of "Healing" in his *The King's Evil*, facing p. 68, and splendid enlarged water copies have been made for the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, of the miniatures representing both these royal ceremonies.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Evans's proposition that the annulet marked the place for piercing is borne out by the fact that a space was left in the touchpieces for a hole, when these later medals replaced the angels. Henry VIII's annulet marked the only space where an aperture could be made without obliterating the saint's head or interfering with the legend or mint-mark. In some coins this objection was obviated by placing St. Michael's head within the surrounding letters, quite out of harm's way, but even so the king's name might be defaced by the puncture. Mr. G. F. Hill drew my attention to the frequency with which angels are pierced at the

be minted for bestowal, but made thereunto the sacrifice of her personal adornments. Mr. Symonds published, in 1912, in his "Coinage of Mary Tudor," in the eighth volume of our Journal, some extracts from the Declared Accounts,<sup>1</sup> denoting Mary's generosity. He tells us that the Queen "by hir hignes owne hands" delivered two chains to the high treasurer of all the mints, weighing together some 128 oz. at 58s. 6¼d. the ounce, "which being converted by Her Gracc's commandment in the mint within the Tower did make in angels less coinage, the sum of £375 5s. 3½d." "Also," writes Mr. Symonds, "the proceeds of 'two crownettes' of gold, about 30 oz., and 'one standing bolle of golde with a cover,' about 54 oz., in all about 84½ oz., at 55s. 11d., were likewise delivered to him the same day 'by the quenes majesties owne handes' and coined into angels making £236 3s. 6½d."

Mary issued sovereigns and a ryal of fine gold as well as angels and half-angels, before her marriage, but although the repetition of this coinage was ordered, the name of her consort, Philip, appears only on angels and half-angels.<sup>2</sup> The value of the angel and half-angel, raised as we have seen by Edward in 1551 to 10s. and 5s. respectively, so continued throughout Mary's reign, but the legend was changed to "A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris" (Psalm cxviii, 23; in the Vulgate Psalm cxvii), which was variously abbreviated on the different gold coins.

The angels, pierced or unpierced, of our first Tudor Queen are now extremely rare, although the jewels mentioned above must alone have produced over £600, or to be more exact, some 1223 coins, but unfortunately for two reasons these figures give no precise

lower, instead of the upper edge, and suggested that this was probably deliberately done to avoid injury to the head of the archangel. It has occurred to me that the coin being suspended from a ribbon, the figure of St. Michael, hanging head downwards, was better seen by the patient.

<sup>1</sup> Declared Accounts, Pipe Office, 2080, under date February 8th, 1553-4. See *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. viii, pp. 185-6.

<sup>2</sup> Mary married Philip of Spain on July 25th, 1554. His title, as King of England, was placed on the coins, by virtue of a Proclamation of the 26th of the December following, but the coins with the new legend are rare. See Kenyon's *Gold Coins*, p. 119, and *British Numismatic Journal*, as above, p. 187.

indication of the numbers of persons "healed" by Mary. Firstly, we know not over how long a period the angels were intended to last. Secondly, it is possible that she used the coin for her church offerings as well as for "healings," and we do not know whether these angels were pierced. I have not been able to search systematically the accounts of this queen to find details of church gifts. Mary,



ANGEL OF PHILIP AND MARY.

like her father, continued to use the service in Latin, a language of which the sick persons probably understood little, and to them the most intelligible part was the contact first with the Queen's hands and then with the gold.

Elizabeth, as she adopted the second prayer-book of Edward VI, would, in all probability, keep closely to any ritual used by her brother, but as Dr. Crawford points out, we have no record of Edward's service. He, however, notes that Mary's liturgy with its invocation of "the blessed Virgin and all the Saints"<sup>1</sup> would not be likely to commend itself to Edward's Protestant guardians.<sup>2</sup>

If, therefore, the young king did touch for the Evil, to his time we may possibly owe the ritual of Elizabeth, shorter indeed, but in its purpose and rubric much the same as those which preceded it.

We owe our knowledge of Elizabeth's service to Dr. Tooker, who gives it in Latin, but as his book is written entirely in that language, Dr. Crawford translated it into English in his *The King's Evil*,<sup>3</sup> deeming it more likely that the Reformers would insist that this, like other services, should be in the vernacular.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Confiteor Deo beate Marie Virgini omnibus sanctis et vobis quia peccavi nimis in cogitatione, locutione, et opere mea culpa. Precor Sanctam Mariam et omnes sanctos dei et vos orare pro me."

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 72-74.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Dr. Tooker,<sup>1</sup> chaplain to Elizabeth, was officially present at her healing ceremonies and lays great stress on the fact that she stroked the affected part with her bare hand.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, he does not conceal that in the case of a running sore the examining doctors put on an innocuous plaster to prevent the contact from being too disgusting.<sup>3</sup> Still, he again dilates in another passage on her personal touching of the sores "with her very beautiful hands, shining as white as snow," not merely touching them with her finger-tips, but actually pressing them whilst she uttered the prayers.<sup>4</sup> He incidentally throws some light on the number of persons presented to her at one healing in her old age, saying that at the previous Easter,<sup>5</sup> that is to say in the year 1597, she touched thirty-eight persons to her extreme fatigue. It has been said of Elizabeth that she did not believe in her own power of healing and only gave way to the desires of her people to show that the Pope's excommunication had not robbed her of her divine gift.<sup>6</sup> Drs. Beckett and Wiseman both say that the Catholics alleged it was by the virtue of the sign of the cross that she healed,<sup>7</sup> but these

<sup>1</sup> William Tooker was subsequently Dean of Lichfield. He died in 1620.

<sup>2</sup> Tooker's *Charisma*, p. 95. During the reading of the Gospel of St. Mark, on coming to the words, "Supra ægros manus imponent : & bene habebunt," Tooker says : "Ad illa verba cum ventum est, serenissima eius Maiestas ægris & strumam patientibus vtrinque manus imponit siue maxillis siue gutturi siue loco affecto & nudis manibus tangit morbidas partes quas deinceps sanat."

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Quoties vidi illam perpulchris manibus & dealbata niue candidioribus, audaciusculè absque vlllo fastidio, non summis digitis tangentem, sed prementem & contrectantem salubrius & apostemata eorum, & vlcera : quoties vidi ipsam quasi seipsam defatigantem, cum vno die in parasceue paschatis superioris triginta octo strumosos curaret." Tooker's *Charisma*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>5</sup> Easter fell on March 27th, 1597, and in that year Tooker published his book.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Henry Stubbe, writing in 1666 in *The Miraculous Conformist*, p. 9, said : "Queen Elizabeth did, for some time, discontinue the Touching for the King's Evil, doubting either the Success or Lawfulness, of that way of Curing. But She soon quitted that Fitt of Puritanisme, when the Papists defamed her, as if God had withdrawn from her the gift of Healing, because she had withdrawn herself from the Roman Church."

<sup>7</sup> Beckett's *Free and Impartial Enquiry*, published 1722, p. 27, and Richard

surgeons deny that the sacred sign had anything to do with cure, and Beckett remarks, that "her Successors discontinu'd it till the Reign of James the 2nd, when it was revived and practised by him yet it has never been thought the success has been ever the less for the Disuse of it."

Beckett was amongst those who believed that Elizabeth at one time abandoned healing,<sup>1</sup> and no doubt the outbreak of plague in 1562 would give rise to such a cessation. Moreover, the tradition that she did so was probably founded on Tooker's story of her exclamation when the sick flocked about her at Gloucester on one of her progresses:<sup>2</sup> "Would that I could give you succour and help. God is the best and greatest Physician of all . . . He will relieve your sickness—pray ye to Him."<sup>3</sup>



ANGEL OF ELIZABETH. KENYON, TYPE I.

Sir John Evans,<sup>4</sup> quoting Fuller's *Church History*, gives the words as "Alasse poor people, I cannot, I cannot cure you, it is God alone that can doe it,"<sup>5</sup> and I find that Dr. Fuller, writing in 1662, was at some pains to explain that it was to elevate the minds of the sick

Wiseman's *Several Chirurgical Treatises*, published 1676, Book IV, a Treatise on the King's Evil, p. 246.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Beckett, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 75. Dr. Crawford remarks that John Browne in his *Charisma*, p. 124, "states, without giving his authority, that before quitting the place she admitted to a general Healing."

<sup>3</sup> Tooker, p. 105: "Vtinam, vtinam (inquit) possem vobis opem & auxilium ferre: Deus, Deus est optimus & maximus medicus omnium, ille, ille est Jehoua sapiens ac sanctus, qui opitulabitur vestris morbis, ille comprecandus est."

<sup>4</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. xii. New Series, p. 192.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Fuller's *Church History*, Book II, Cent. xi. Sec. 35.

that she spoke, and not from any distaste to healing. But in point of fact, as Dr. Crawford truly says, this is but a rendering into the vernacular of the legend of her angel: "a Domino factum est istud et est mirabile," words which in the days of her sister Mary had superseded the "Per crucem tuam salva nos Christe redemptor" of Edward VI and his immediate predecessors. Beckett<sup>1</sup> speaks of this inscription on the "Rose Nobles" of Elizabeth given at the time of touching as being: "A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris," but the qualifying word "Rose" is probably there a slip of the pen for Angel-Noble.<sup>2</sup>

It is obvious that she ordinarily made use of an angel, and Clowes, "one of hir Maiestie's Chirurgeons," who wrote in 1602, mentions being shown by one of the healed "the Angell of Golde, which her Maiesty did put about his neck, truely a cure."<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, the words used by Tooker are less binding, specifying, as they do, "a gold coin to the value of ten shillings,"<sup>4</sup> and this is not without interest in view of the fact that for many years of Elizabeth's reign the price of the angel was 6s. 8d.

Tooker, however, writing in the year 1597, would be right in assuming that an angel would be understood, when he spoke of a coin worth 10s. Under Elizabeth's first indenture the price fixed was 10s., but by the proclamation of March, 1561-2, the current angel resumed the position it had originally held when first coined under Edward IV, namely 6s. 8d., and no evidence has been found of its resumption of the value of 10s., until the indenture of 1572.

By the proclamation of 1561-2 the fine gold ryal, having similarly been decried from 15s., held the position at 10s. hitherto

<sup>1</sup> Beckett, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> "Angel Noble" is the expression used in Henry VII's service. The sovereign as well as the angel of Elizabeth bore the "a Domino factum" inscription in her fine standard coinage.

<sup>3</sup> *A Right Frutefull and approved Treatise for the Artificiall Cure of that Malady called in Latin Struma and in English the Evill, cured by Kinges and Queenes of England*, p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> Tooker, p. 96, "acceptoque aureo numo solidorum decem, perforato, actæna reuincto numismate." See our note I, p. 95.

occupied by the angel. Mr. Symonds has found no direct evidence of the coining of angels<sup>1</sup> between the mint-mark cross-croset and mint-mark crown, that is to say for about eight years, and he is inclined to think that the pyx of the latter mint-mark, in 1570, still held angels at 6s. 8d. Whether Elizabeth in this period gave any angels already existing or substituted the 10s. ryal<sup>2</sup> or drew entirely on her first issue, I cannot venture to say, but if she used



ANGEL OF ELIZABETH. KENYON, TYPE 3.

those of her father the presence of the three pierced coins in the hoard described by Sir John Evans is easily explained.<sup>3</sup> Even after her angel had resumed its 10s. value, it experienced some vicissitudes, for its fineness was reduced from 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine to 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in 1578, and on its resumption of the old standard, in 1601, it was slightly reduced in weight, 73 angels instead of 72 going to the pound weight of gold.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The existence of a quarter-angel with mint-mark rose is indicative that some fine gold was issued and should have been in pyx of February, 1566-7, but none is specified in this pyx trial. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1916, p. 100. Dr. Kenyon gives a quarter-angel, in the Evans Collection, and there is a specimen in that of Major Carlyon-Britton.

<sup>2</sup> The ryal, which presented the figure of the Queen standing in a ship, might have served as a touchpiece, but the legend: "Iesus autem," etc., is, as we have seen, in discussing the alternative legend on the angels of Henry VII, less applicable to the healing service than "A domino factum est istud et est mirabile," which Beckett, writing in the early eighteenth century, quoted as the legend on her gift.

<sup>3</sup> See our pp. 80-81.

<sup>4</sup> For the most complete information concerning Elizabeth's indentures and pyx lists, see *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xvi, "The Mint of Queen Elizabeth and those who worked there," by Henry Symonds. Details of the pieces struck are not always available, but angels, half- and quarter-angels are specified in



In Kenyon's *Gold Coins of England* we read that no angels were known to this author struck after the reduction of weight in 1601,<sup>1</sup> but since the publication of his book an example bearing the mint-mark 2, weight 79 grains, has come into notice.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Symonds, in his "Mint of Queen Elizabeth," has shown that in the pyx trial of June 7th, 1603, containing coins of 23 carats  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grains fine, the sample pieces, each coin representing one "journey" of gold, amounted to £3 12s. 6d. in angels, half-angels and quarter-angels. He sends me, moreover, a note from the Declared Accounts as follows: "Angel gold under indenture of 29 July, 43 Elizabeth (1601) 35 lbs. 4 oz. 17 dwts. 8 grains." This would be the quantity of fine gold struck between the date specified above and the end of the reign. The fact that angels were struck does not of course prove that the Queen in her last days touched, but they would be available for James I, before he struck them in his own name. Ruding mentions a complication which had arisen and been dealt with early in Elizabeth's reign, in October, 1561: "A foreign piece of gold, printed like an English angel," coming from Holland and Tournay in the shape of an imitation of the angels of Henry VIII, was proscribed by proclamation in that it "was paid for ten shillings of silver, being not worth nine shillings and three-pence, and for distinguishing the same the prints of the English angel and of the others were given in the margent."<sup>3</sup> In June, 1565, the warning was repeated with respect to foreign angels, in regard to another issue of worse alloy "not worth seven shillings, though paid for ten shillings of silver."<sup>4</sup>

these pyx lists in October, 1573; May, 1574; May, 1580; July, 1582; November, 1583; February, 1584-5; May, 1587; February, 1595-6 and June, 1603. Crown gold appears in some of these pyxes also, but not in all.

<sup>1</sup> *Kenyon*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Murdoch sale, First Portion, lot 613, April 3rd, 1903, from the Rostron and H. Clark collections.

<sup>3</sup> *Ruding*, vol. i, p. 342. A note explains that on the proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, the angel of Henry VIII is figured with the H and rose under the arms of the cross on the reverse, the Tournay counterfeit having M.B. and the Dutch W.B. in the same place.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 344.

At first sight this suggests that the English angel had then resumed its 10s. value; but the proclamation of the following December refers to the ryals still at their reduced rating, and we have seen that we have no evidence of the 10s. angel until it appears in the pyx of October, 1573, with the mint-mark, issued under the indenture of 1572, "powdred armeyn."<sup>1</sup>

Queen Elizabeth issued a great quantity of fine gold and we need not enter into the various denominations. Her pyx lists, although they tell us the amounts of the angel gold examined at the trials, do not dissociate the halves and quarters from the whole, so we can make no computation as to pieces used for the Queen's healing. Moreover, we must not forget that the angel was current, so that unless we get, as we did under Mary, the assurance that the coinage was for the royal private use, the pyx lists, the publication of which we owe to Mr. Symonds, cannot always solve our difficulties.

Nevertheless, with regard to the coinage of James I,<sup>2</sup> they are extremely helpful, for sometimes the angels are mentioned alone.<sup>3</sup> The pyx of May, 1609, is the first in which the angel is specified by name, but pieces of 10s. of 23  $3\frac{1}{2}$  carats, marked with the "flower de lewce," appear in the pyx of June, 1605, and are chronicled in this form in July, 1606, in July, 1607, and again in the November of that year. In 1609 and in the succeeding years the sequence of angels, with or without their halves and quarters, is unbroken.

<sup>1</sup> "The Mint of Queen Elizabeth," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1916, by Henry Symonds, pp. 69 and 101.

<sup>2</sup> "Mint Marks and Denominations of the Coinage of James I," in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, pp. 207-227, by Henry Symonds. Mr. Symonds explains that the practice during the first quarter of the seventeenth century was to take for the pyx one piece out of every 15 pounds of coined gold.

<sup>3</sup> For instance of mint-mark key, angels amounting to 40s. were in the pyx of the 11th of May, 1610. This should represent 60 lb. Troy, as the angel at that time weighed  $71\frac{1}{2}$  grains. This weight was ordered by James until 1612, when it was raised to 72 grains. But in 1619, when its value was again reduced to 10s., having risen to 11s. in 1611, the king lessened the weight to  $64\frac{5}{8}$ . At this weight,  $64\frac{5}{8}$  grains, namely, and valued at 10s., the angel remained, until discontinued by the Parliament, after the seizure of the Tower Mint in 1642. It was still mentioned as current coin in a proclamation of Charles II, although not re-issued, and in 1661 the value of James I's 11s. angel was set down at 11s. 8d. and the 10s. angel at 10s. 8d.

The earliest angel scheduled by Dr. Kenyon under James I was that bearing the mint-mark rose, which in the year 1605 succeeded the lis, but since the publication, in 1884, of his *Gold Coins of England*, the majority of the missing dates have been filled in, and Mr. Symonds tells me that he has seen an angel of the first coinage with the mint-mark lis. We have reliable evidence that angel gold was coined before James I, in October, 1604, assumed the title of King of Great Britain, in contradistinction to King of England and Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. H. A. Grueber, in describing the quarter-angel given by Mr. Alexander Mann to the British Museum in 1910, which bears the early legend IACOBVS D'G'AN'SC'FR'ET·HI'REX.,<sup>2</sup> mint-mark lis, brought interesting evidence to light.<sup>3</sup> He points out that this quarter-angel must have been issued between May 22nd, 1604, when the mint-mark lis succeeded the thistle, and October 20th of the same year, when the title was changed; and he procured from Mr. Hocking the information, gathered from official documents at the mint, that "36 lbs. of Angel coin was struck in 1603-4 and 9 lbs. in 1604-5, making 45 lbs. in all." At first sight this is suggestive that angels were struck in 1603 and that some will be discovered bearing the mint-mark thistle with the first legend, but this is not borne out by the pyx lists, for the entire amount appears to be represented by the appropriate coins in the "flower de lewce" trial of 1605. It has been somewhat plausibly suggested that the king, on a visit he paid to the mint when he coined some pieces for presentation on March 13th, 1603-4, struck some angels, but this would not solve the pyx difficulties concerning the mint-mark,

<sup>1</sup> The thistle and lis were twice used as mint-marks by James I, but the several issues are differentiated by the first legend IACOBVS . D . G . ANG . SCO . FRAN . ET . HIB REX and the second IACOBVS . D . G . MAG . BRIT . FRAN . ET . HIBER . REX.

<sup>2</sup> It had been thought that no fine standard gold coins were issued with the first legend, the coins in James I's pyx of June, 1603, containing pieces struck with Elizabeth's titles and her mint-mark "The figure of two," whilst the pyx of May, 1604, contained 22-carat gold only.

<sup>3</sup> "The Quarter-angel of James I," by H. A. Grueber, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. xii, pp. 212-222.

unless the lis was used in anticipation. We can only say that if angels were, in 1603, made by the king's order for touching, the pyx lists at present to hand give no evidence thereof; but the mint report is in favour of it. Possibly, for healing, James used coins of the late queen, for it is undoubted that he touched in October, 1603.<sup>1</sup> It appears, however, that he only suffered himself to be reluctantly persuaded into so doing, and it is not likely that he had already ordered coins for the purpose. It is, nevertheless, worth noting that under the indenture of May, 1603, fine standard gold had been authorized.

An Italian letter, translated by Dr. Crawford, under date 8th October, 1603, proves that prudence conquered James's diffidence, and afraid of risking his popularity he "resolved to give it a trial, but only by way of prayer, in which he begged all present to join him and then he touched the sick folk."<sup>2</sup> He is reported by Carlo Scaramelli, the Venetian Secretary, to have said that "Neither he nor any other King can have power to heal Scrofula, for the age of miracles is past and God alone can work them."<sup>3</sup> "However he will have the full ceremony," continues the Venetian, "so as not to loose this prerogative, which belongs to the Kings of England as Kings of France."<sup>4</sup> This decision was taken in the face of the desire

<sup>1</sup> James came to the throne on March 24, 1602-3, but plague was rampant in the succeeding months, so that the king had a good excuse for refraining from touching. See proclamations of June, July, August and September, 1603, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries. The plague was again serious from September to November, 1606, and people were once more prohibited from coming to Court for the same reason in November, 1607. Another outbreak is noted in 1609.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford, p. 83, quoting the Vatican Archives, "Se risolveva di provarlo, ma solamente per via d' oratione, la quale pregava a tutti volessero fare insieme con lui, et con questo toccava alli infermi."

<sup>3</sup> "Touching for the King's Evil," by Cornelius Nicholls, *Home Counties Magazine*, June, 1912, p. 117, and *Calendar of Venetian State Papers*, p. 44, June, 1603. Letter No. 69.

<sup>4</sup> The attitude held by the literary world towards the healing ceremony at the beginning of James I's reign is brought before us by Shakespeare in the scene from *Macbeth*, laid at the English Court, and I have therefore placed the lines at the beginning of this article. Shakespeare was probably unaware that the gift was not claimed by the Scottish kings, but knew that James had begun to practise it after

he had expressed on first coming to England "not to touch for scrofula, not wishing to arrogate vainly to himself such virtue and divinity as to be able to cure diseases by touch alone."<sup>1</sup>

James retained upon his angels the text used by Elizabeth and Mary, contracting it to A.DNO.FACTVM.EST.ISTVD: The words



ANGEL OF JAMES I. MINT-MARK BELL, 1610-11.

were consonant with the principles which, in common with the late queen, he expressed, but he so far altered the service of the latter as to omit the sign of the cross, which now disappears from the rubric.<sup>2</sup> He also omitted the cross which stood at the ship's mast on

his accession to the throne of England. *Macbeth* was written *circa* 1606 and the king described as healing is Edward the Confessor, the contemporary of Macbeth, who died in 1057.

<sup>1</sup> Roman Transcripts, General Series, vol. 88, letter 8, p. 9: "Di non toccare le scrofole, non volendosi vanamente arrogare tal virtù e divinità di potere col solo tatto guarire le malatie."

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Crawford, pp. 84-5 and 88, has gone carefully into the matter of the abandonment of the sign of the cross, which was still used in Catholic France, quoting Heylyn for its discontinuance in England and also a letter from Mr. Povy to Dudley Carlton, whilst Sir John Finett, see Nichols's *Progresses of James I*, vol. iii, p. 494, in relating the healing of a Turk by the king, says that he used "the accustomed ceremony, of signing the place infected with the crosse, but no prayers before or after." Povy says, "His Majesty laughed heartily and as the young fellow came neare him, he stroked him, with his hande, first on the one side, and then on the other; marry without Pistle or Gospell." The balance of evidence, including that of Hamon L'Estrange already cited, see our p. 95, and that of Wiseman, *Chirurgical Treatises*, p. 245, who, writing in 1676, says that the cross was not used by three generations of kings—to wit James I, Charles I and Charles II—is in favour of the discontinuance of the sign, until resumed by James II, in whose rubric the words "crossing the sore of the sick Person" reappear. Elizabeth had no objection to the cross as a symbol, and retained a crucifix in her private chapel. See Martin Haile's *An Elizabethan Cardinal*, William Allan, pp. 16-17.

the Elizabethan angel, whether by design or accident we know not.

It is noticeable that the piercings in James I's angels are very large and this may be due to the clumsiness of the king, who distrusted his powers of threading a tiny aperture, as Mary had done, in public; but it is more probable that with the increased number of those coming to be healed, this portion of the ceremonial had been abandoned by Elizabeth.<sup>1</sup> We may fairly suppose, with Sir John Evans,<sup>2</sup> that the reason for the larger holes lay with those who enriched themselves by punching them, without any orders being given respecting the size of the aperture.

We cannot quite determine how many persons were healed by James, but we have evidence that angels were specially struck by his order for healing purposes. Mr. Symonds, in his "*Mintmarks and Denominations of the Coinage of James I.*,"<sup>3</sup> mentions the year 1607 as the earliest in which he has found such an account under this king, and for this delay the plague may have been responsible.<sup>4</sup>

"George, Earl of Dunbar, the keeper of the privy purse, had," he tells us, "received angels of fine gold to the value of £370 at the times of his Majesty's healing of the King's Evil. Similar entries recur throughout the reign, the smallest sum being £100 in 1608, while the heaviest payment was £960 in 1622. The average expenditure under this heading in the space of twenty-one years works out at £435 per annum." I have thought it an unnecessary waste of time to make further researches into these accounts, so ably epitomized by Mr. Symonds, who is much better versed in these matters than myself. But I would call the attention of those who are interested in the wording of the old documents to that of April 11th in the year 1611, printed in full by Mr. Cochran-

<sup>1</sup> The words used by Tooker in his *Charisma*, p. 96, give one to understand that the angel was presented to the queen by the attendant chaplain ready slung on the ribbon, for he speaks of the coin as "*aureo numo solidorum decem, perforato, actæna reuincto numismate.*"

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, vol. xii, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 223.

<sup>4</sup> See note <sup>1</sup> on p. 105

Patrick in the *Numismatic Chronicle*.<sup>1</sup> The warrant directed "to the Treasurer and Under Treasurer of our Exchequer for the time being" begins with the king's statement that he had "lately had occasion to use certain Angel gold in healing and curing of a certain disease called the King's Evil, which hath been provided by our right trusty and right well beloved Thomas L<sup>d</sup> Knyvett, and Edmund Doubleday Esqre, Wardens of our Mint, part whereof hath been delivered already and the residue to be delivered unto the Keeper of our Privy Purse."<sup>2</sup> "And for that," continues this document, "we may have like occasion to use some great quantity hereafter, which we would not be unfurnished of, We have given direction to the said L<sup>d</sup> Knyvett and Edmund Doubleday that they shall cause new Angels to be coined for our use within convenient time after notice thereof given to them, by you our Treasurer or Under Treasurer or either of you." Then follow provisions for paying merchants for the gold and the refiner for adjusting the standard, the payment being made in coined silver. The wardens had, according to this document, already expended "the sum of one hundred and twenty pounds sterling . . . for Angel gold for our service."

Mr. Cochran-Patrick quotes another warrant, under date September 15th, 1624, which I had also noticed in the *State Papers Domestic*,<sup>3</sup> "to cause as many angels of gold to be coined as shall be required for the keeper of the Privy Purse for His Majesty's use in healing the King's Evil." This is probably the last order for

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. vii, 1907, *Miscellanea*: Notes on some Original Documents relating to Touchpieces, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick.

<sup>2</sup> The mint-mark "bell" superseded the "key" on May 9th, 1611. The coins here mentioned therefore under date April 11th of this year would belong respectively to these two issues. The angels in the "bell" pyx were three in number, pointing, if the proper proportion was placed in the pyx, to an issue of 45 lbs. Troy. For the "key" pyx see our p. 103, note 3. During a part of the time covered by the mint-mark key the plague was prevalent. A letter in *Lady Newton's House of Lyme*, p. 88, under date September 26th, speaks of the "sicknes" as "much increased," and also mentions it at Oxford at the same period.

<sup>3</sup> *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, 1623-25, p. 340.

angels given by James I, for he died in March, 1625, and Easter, the great season for healing, fell in April after the accession of Charles I.

James, like his predecessor Elizabeth, touched during his progresses.<sup>1</sup> Drake, in his *Eboracum*, tells us that on August 10th, 1617, the King came to York on his way to Scotland,<sup>2</sup> "and on the 13th, being Sunday, his majesty went to the cathedral, where the archbishop preached a learned sermon before him. After sermon ended he touched about seventy persons for the King's Evil." Dr. Crawford<sup>3</sup> quotes an earlier instance in the same year when on Sunday, March 30th, 1617, James "healed to the number of fifty persons of the King's Evil" after morning service at Lincoln Cathedral, and on the following Tuesday, April 1st, in his Chamber of Presence, "in the Priory of St. Catharine, Lincoln, he touched fifty-three persons," a total of 103 in two days.<sup>4</sup> The output of angels, of which James must then have been making his gifts, would naturally bear the mint-mark "booke," which came into use on November 15th, 1616. The pyx-trial of May 18th, 1618, included angels and half-angels, with other gold of the fine standard, to the value of £4 13s. 6d. of this mint-mark, and £2 9s. 6d. of the "halfe moone," both these "privie marks" being then tried,<sup>5</sup> but we labour under the difficulty of being unable to divide the denominations.

<sup>1</sup> Browne, on p. 124 of his *Charisma Basilicon*, mentions that Elizabeth held a healing in Gloucestershire, and Dr. Crawford, p. 78, refers to Laneham's account of nine persons having been healed by Queen Elizabeth during a visit to Kenilworth on a progress in 1575. See Nichols's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i, p. 459: "By her Highnes' accustomed mercy and charittee nyne cured of the peynfull and dangerous deseaz called the King's Evil; for that Kings and Queens of the Realm without other medicin save only by handing and prayers only doe cure it."—Robert Laneham's letter to his friend Martin. See also the account of Edward II healing on our pp. 65-6. Henry VIII also touched in his travels. See also Dr. Crawford, pp. 36, 58, 75 and 77 for various kings.

<sup>2</sup> *Eboracum*, by Francis Drake, ed. 1736, p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 89.

<sup>4</sup> John Nichols's *Progresses of James I*, vol. iii, pp. 263-4.

<sup>5</sup> See Henry Symonds in *British Numismatic Journal*, vol. ix, p. 218. A second pyx on the same day, mint-mark "halfe moone," contained £2 9s. 6d. in "Angels and



The frequency with which the angels of James I are found pierced points rather to their continued use under Charles II, who bought old angels until the introduction of his touchpiece, than to any great number of healings in the time of James himself, and we still find constant references to the angels as a current coin in the letters of this period; two such I am suffered to quote from the interesting manuscripts lately published by Lady Newton in *The House of Lyme*.<sup>1</sup> A college Tutor, writing in 1612, says that "some young gentlemen can hardly be kept in any order, let them but have an angell or two in their purse." Again a lady, writing somewhat later, says that her husband "would not take a pype of tobacco yf a man would geve him a gold angle," and there is no doubt that under James the angel was still coined for currency together with its parts. His fine gold coinage was, although small as compared to Elizabeth's, about thrice as large as that of his son, and we must assume that two-thirds of the coins, probably including angels, were made for ordinary currency, the entire issue of standard gold being quite three times in excess of his requirements for touching.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand we must remember that the yearly issue of fine gold coin, to the amount of about £1500, included other denominations as well as angels in various years; namely, rose-nobles, spur-ryals, half- and quarter-angels—thereby limiting greatly the output of the latter.

We have as many records under Charles I as we had under James of sick persons coming to be healed during the King's progresses. James had forbidden his people in his proclamation of 1616 to repair for healing "to his court" between the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas, expressly stating that "the former Kings of this Realme" did not receive the sick in the summer months, but

angellets," but Dr. Kenyon shows that the "booke" preceded the "halfe moone" or crescent which was introduced on August 23rd, 1617, therefore after the date of these healings.

<sup>1</sup> *The House of Lyme*, pp. 71-2 and 93.

<sup>2</sup> According to Snelling, p. 37, James I's fine gold coinage was 734 lb. 10 oz. 11 dwt. 19 grs. between 1603 and 1625, that of Charles I extending to 1642 was 284 lb. 5 oz. 9 dwt. 9 grs.

that the "order hath bene of late neglected."<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, we have seen that on progress he healed in August, 1617.

Charles I, whilst stating that Whitsuntide had at one time been a "Healing" season, repeated his father's injunctions that after Easter none should "presume to repayre to his Majesties Royall Court to be healed, before the Feast of St. Michael now next coming."<sup>2</sup> This and similar proclamations<sup>3</sup> of various dates sometimes postpone the ceremony for a season or altogether on account of the plague. In June, 1625, access to Court was forbidden, in July the Parliament was removed to Oxford and a fast proclaimed; in August the proclamations show that the violence of the contagion was increasing. In the last mentioned month it was "very farre dispersed into many parts of the Kingdome already," and consequently the keeping of Bartholomew Fair and of Stourbridge Fair was prohibited.<sup>4</sup> On the 11th August we hear of the "Plague now raging in those parts, in the Suburbs of London and Westminster and in the outlying parishes adjoining,"<sup>5</sup> and on the 4th September and 11th of October "the Michaelmas Tearme" was adjourned, whilst on the 17th the prohibition of intercourse between the infected parts and the court was again insisted upon.<sup>6</sup> At last on 30th December, 1625, these orders were rescinded,<sup>7</sup> but a proclamation of 17th January, 1625-6, explained that the coronation would not take place until May, 1626, owing to the dislocation in trade caused by the late plague, and a thanksgiving was ordered to be held on 19th February for the relief from the sickness.<sup>8</sup> It appears that once the plague was stayed, Charles received some of his subjects for healing, and a proclamation of 18th June, 1626, tells us that "his now most

<sup>1</sup> Pettigrew's *Superstitions connected with Surgery*, p. 133, and Crawford's *King's Evil*, p. 163. Proclamation in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation in the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, 18th June, 1626.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Crawford prints a large collection of these proclamations in the Appendix of his *King's Evil*.

<sup>4</sup> Proclamations of Charles I, in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries. Nos. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 24.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 27, 29 and 30.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 39.

Excellent Majestie in no lesse measure then any of his Royall predecessors, hath had good successe herein."<sup>1</sup> Again "the sicknesse" devastated the kingdom in 1630 and we have the same postponement of fairs and term in August and September, whilst the healings were discontinued and the Michaelmas ceremony put off firstly until December and then till Lent. Again, in June, 1632, we find the King stating that the people had had access to him at Lent, but he could not receive them again until Christmas.<sup>2</sup> Always at the approach of hot weather it was considered wiser to stay the possible spreading of infection, and we shall find this rule ever more strongly enforced. From June, 1626, onwards, those who had access to the King could only do so as bearers of "Certificates under the hands of the Parson, Vicar, or Minister and Churchwarden of those severall Parishes where they dwell, and from whence they come, testifying according to the trueth, that they have not any time before bene touched by the King, to the intent to be healed of that disease."<sup>3</sup>

Wherever the Monarch might be residing this certificate was required to act as a pass in travelling, but whether equal formalities were observed when he came to various towns on his travels, and the people came from the immediate neighbourhood, we have less evidence. We know that Charles, even before his constant change of residence in the Civil War, touched in his progresses as did his predecessors. We have Drake's record at York in April, 1639: "Upon Good-Friday the King touched for the King's Evil in the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 160. See also Appendix of the *King's Evil*, where Dr. Crawford, pp. 172-178 and 184-185, gives proclamations of the years 1631, 1632, 1634, 1636 and 1638. One of the proclamations of 1634 refers to an outbreak of smallpox as a reason for postponing the healing. See Dr. Crawford, p. 178, quoting *State Papers Domestic, Various*, 10. 187. See also proclamation in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries, No. 194.

<sup>3</sup> These words are in most of the proclamations from the time of Charles I onward throughout the reigns of the succeeding monarchs. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, in a note on healing, p. 353 of his *Privy Purse Accounts of Henry VIII*, mentions that amongst the MS. Conway papers there is an order for a proclamation under date 13th May, 1625, stating that for the future all shall bring certificates "for that many being healed have disposed of their pieces of gold otherwise than was intended and thereby fall into relapse."

minster two hundred persons. Upon Easter Sunday the King received the sacrament at the cathedral. On Monday he ordered seventy pounds to be given to each of the four wards of the city, to be distributed amongst poor widows. On Tuesday and Wednesday he touched each day an hundred persons for the evil. At his leisure hours, his usual diversion, during his stay in York, was to play at the game called Balloon."<sup>1</sup> At this time Charles was on his way to Scotland, and a former visit to that country had been signalized in the same manner. Dr. Crawford writes of his healing ceremony at Durham Castle in 1633<sup>2</sup> and also at Holyrood, where we find that he "after the offering heallit 100 persons of the cruelles of Kyngis evill, younge and old."

William Guthrie, in his *General History of Scotland*,<sup>3</sup> gives scoffingly an account of this event, which he found described amongst Sir James Balfour's manuscripts. Guthrie, speaking of Charles I's visit to Edinburgh in 1633, tells us that "On the twenty-fourth of June, St. John the Baptist day, he went in great state to his Chapel royal, and after making a solemn offertory at the altar, he performed the ridiculous ceremony of touching a hundred persons for the King's evil; putting about every one of their necks, as says Balfour, a piece of gold coined for the purpose hung on a white ribband."<sup>4</sup>

Sir James Balfour's<sup>5</sup> remark that the coin used was made "for

<sup>1</sup> Francis Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 137. In a note (i) to the above Drake gives descriptive details taken from old manuscripts, lent to him: "During the tyme the King touched those that had the disease called the evill, were read these words: 'They shall lay their hands upon the sick and they shall recover.' During the tyme the King put about every of their necks an angel of gold with a white ribben, were read these words: 'That Light was the true light which lighteth every man which cometh into the world.'"

<sup>2</sup> *The King's Evil*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Guthrie, vol. ix, p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> Guthrie, quoting Balfour, states that the King left London on May 11th. The expedition was made for the Scottish Coronation, it is therefore small wonder that Charles took with him the large train of persons mentioned. These included all the attendants usually present at a "Healing": the "master of the prince's purse, two bishops, a clerk of the closet . . . six chaplains, two physicians, two surgeons," besides countless other persons. He quitted Scotland on July 10th.

<sup>5</sup> Sir James Balfour, 1600-1657, author of *The Annals of Scotland from*

the purpose " is not without interest, and strengthens me in the belief that by this time Charles I coined the angel for presentation almost exclusively, although it remained in circulation after the Restoration. It may be regarded as an indication that the King who, after the seizure of the Mint by Parliament in August, 1642,<sup>1</sup> was obliged to bestow as healing money any coin which came to hand, continued the coinage of the angel for healing purposes alone throughout the latter part of his reign. During the Civil War the only angels obtainable were those earlier coined by Charles himself or by his predecessors, and in his straitened circumstances these would not be easy to procure, although his father's angel coinage must still have been fairly common or Briot would not have made a coin-weight representing it for commercial purposes so late as 1632.<sup>2</sup>



JAMES I COIN-WEIGHT FOR ANGEL.

The details of the pyx<sup>3</sup> lists of gold of Charles I, which Mr. Symonds published at my urgent request some years after he had gone into the question of this king's silver currency,<sup>4</sup> mention the angel in every pyx until after the trial of May 29th, 1643, when the mint-mark (P) superseded the triangle-in-circle.<sup>5</sup> " This latest of the angels,"

*Malcolm III to Charles II*, left many writings in manuscript, mostly preserved in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup> The sequestration of the royal estates and revenues was directed by Parliament on September 21st, 1643; but Mr. Symonds informs us that it appears from an account which runs from November 25th, 1642, furnished by a Parliamentary receiver of mint revenues, that the Tower Mint was actually seized as from August, 1642. See *Numismatic Chronicle*, Fourth Series, vol. x, "The Gold Coinage of Charles I," by Henry Symonds, p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> The coin-weights made by Briot for Charles I in 1632 include the 11s. angel and half-angel at 5s. 5d., and the 2s. 9d. quarter-angel of James I.

<sup>3</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1914, pp. 264-5, "The Gold Coinage of Charles I."

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1910, pp. 388-397.

<sup>5</sup> The triangle-in-circle mint-mark began in or after July, 1641, following on the star, which was tried on the 15th of that month. Dr. Kenyon, writing in 1884,

writes Mr. Symonds, "was in fact struck before November 25 1642, on which day the Parliamentary receiver of the Tower revenues began a new account, which mentions that no angel gold was used during the period of about two and a half years covered by that document."

This angel, with the triangle-in-circle mint-mark, is the last available for healing purposes, but we know that Charles I continued to touch during the Civil War. According to Mr. Symonds's pyx lists we find that the amount of angels issued with the mint-mark star was about the average, whilst that of the triangle-in-circle was much below it.<sup>1</sup> If, then, Charles had no great reserve of angels—and how could he have many of these in a war-chest<sup>2</sup>—what was his healing-piece? The pathetic answer of an anonymous contemporary writer shall speak for him: "Small pieces of Silver was his gift, for alas he could not arive at others; 'twas not the golden age with him."<sup>3</sup>

chronicled no angels later than those with the mint-mark bell; but of late years the entire sequence of mint-marks to the triangle-in-circle have been filled in, agreeing with the evidence of the pyx lists.

<sup>1</sup> Such pieces of the triangle-in-circle mint-mark as I have seen are on both sides struck from dies altered from the star; of such is my specimen and both those in the cabinet of Major Carlyon-Britton. This is of course as much an indication that fresh dies had to be made late in the star period, as it is of the rarity of the triangle-in-circle; but we have seen that relatively the issue of the latter mint-mark was small. The angels in the star pyx, June 26th, 1640, to June 15th, 1641, were seven in number; those in the succeeding triangle-in-circle pyx only three. This should mean that 45 lbs. of the latter were struck as against 105 lbs. of the star; but there is reason to believe, as we shall see presently, that with regard to small coinages of angels, the rule was not exactly observed of 15 lbs. of gold to one sample coin, but that one piece must have been held up from every lesser "journey."

<sup>2</sup> Near the manor of Wooburn, Bucks, there was discovered late in the eighteenth century "a quantity of gold angels to the value of 50*l*." It was believed that these coins were buried during the Civil War, Philip Lord Warton having concealed £60,000 in a wood, which he recovered after the Restoration with some difficulty. Cooke, in his *Topography* (Bucks, p. 138), describes this incident, but unfortunately does not give any details concerning the angels, which apparently were not found with the rest of the money. We should have been glad to know whether these 100 angels were pierced in anticipation of a healing or were currency either of the time of Charles I or of his predecessors.

<sup>3</sup> Page 8 of a volume called *Χειροποιή, or the Excellency or Handywork of*

Dr. John Browne always lays stress on the touch and not the gift, and relates how "the good King," going a prisoner from Windsor to London and asked by a blind woman for his help, "tells her he has no gold; she still begs for Jesus Christ's sake he would grant her his gracious touch; which she having received, within three days after grew well and recovered."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wiseman says, that Charles, "in his extremity of Poverty had not gold to bestow, but instead of it gave Silver and sometimes nothing."<sup>2</sup>

Browne explains that when Sir John Jacobs sent his little girl to be healed by the King, then a prisoner at Holmby House, the child took her own piece of gold with her,<sup>3</sup> "which the good King was pleased to put over her neck." He also tells us that a man reduced to crutches brought with him to the Isle of Wight a shilling for the purpose of suspension, and arriving quite lame, was so rapidly healed "that in three days he quitted his Crutches . . . in three weeks he was able to play nine pins and run after his Bowl, and in less than a year he went to Newfoundland as a seaman."<sup>4</sup>

This courtly chirurgeon, Browne, gives another instance of a cure performed by Charles as a prisoner, "a Silver twopence, struck in a white silk Ribband" being his gift at Hampton Court, and adds optimistically, "All people, which did here come to be touched had only Silver given to them and yet most of them known to be cured."<sup>5</sup>

*the Royal Hand*, published in 1665 by T. A., and variously ascribed to Dr. Thomas Allen, Fellow of the Royal Society and College of Surgeons, and to Dr. Harris, who was Burgess of St. Albans in 1661. An old manuscript note in the British Museum copy refers it to Harris, with the amusing information that it was so much disliked by "his father, old Harris, the old Chirurgeon there [St. Albans] that he bought up all the copies and burnt them."

<sup>1</sup> *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Wiseman, *Several Chirurgical Treatises*, book iv, A Treatise of the King's Evil, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> John Browne's *Charisma Basilicon*, p. 148. Third book of his *Adenochirodelogia*, pub. 1683-4. John Browne was Chirurgeon in Ordinary to Charles II and Surgeon to St. Thomas's Hospital. For details concerning him see Dr. Crawford's *The King's Evil*, pp. 123-125.

<sup>4</sup> *Charisma*, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 141-2.

It is not without interest in connection with this gift of 2*d.* that I hear from our member, Mr. Baldwin, of a find, brought to him some years ago, consisting of a bag containing about fifty pierced half-groats and a few pierced pennies. This purse had been discovered,



ABERYSTWITH PIERCED HALF-GROAT, FOUND AT WATLINGTON.

buried on a common near Watlington<sup>1</sup> in Oxfordshire. The condition of the pieces showed that they had not been tampered with, and that the holes must have been made before the coins were lost. He tried to clean them, especially the rarer varieties of Aberystwith, but they were so corroded that he kept but few, of which one, by his courtesy, passed into my collection of touchpieces. It seems beyond doubt that these little coins must have been pierced for an Oxford "healing" and the purse was dropped by the Clerk of the Closet or Almoner or Keeper of the Privy-Purse, or the goldsmith to whom the coins had been entrusted for perforation. There is no doubt that persons in the town would have taken advantage of the King's presence to obtain his touch. Nevertheless such evidence as we possess concerning healings at Oxford is negative rather than affirmative. On February 20th, 1642-3,<sup>2</sup> we find the people of

<sup>1</sup> Watlington is about 2 miles south-east of Chalgrove, where a battle was fought June 18th, 1643, and some 12 miles from Oxford, where the King resided, making it his headquarters during a great part of the Civil War. This coin is a mule between a Tower half-groat and an Aberystwith type, but not all the pieces were, as I understand from Mr. Baldwin, of this rare variety.

<sup>2</sup> Thomason's *Tracts*, E. 90, 6. "Petition to the King's most Excellent Majesty of the King's poore Subjects afflicted with that grievous Infirmitie called the King's Evill, of which by his Majesties absence they have no possibility of being cured, wanting all means to gain access to his Majesty by reason of his abode at Oxford." Dr. J. C. Cox, in his *Parish Registers of England*, illustrates on p. 180 the title-page of this petition, showing that the printed date, 1643, has been early annotated as 1642, probably by Thomason, and I find that the petition is bound with other matter of 1642-3. A preceding paper, also dated February, 1643, deals with subjects of 1642-3, proving that although unusual at this time the new style of reckoning was sometimes adopted in contemporary prints.



London issuing a pathetic appeal for assistance, and complaining that so long as Charles resided at Oxford "environed with so many legions of souldiers, who will be apt to hinder our accesse to your Court and Princely Person," they could not obtain his touch.

They asked him to "consigne some way whereby we may be enabled to approach your royall presence." But the King, it appears, was unable to accede to this request, for in spite of the twenty days' truce, which had just been decided upon between him and the Parliament, it would have been impossible for him to come to London, and for obvious reasons it was not considered safe or desirable that the sick should resort to Oxford. We can only say that a month later *The Mercurius Aulicus* of March 26th, 1643,<sup>1</sup> p. 154, mentions that Charles caused a notice to be put up at the entrances into Oxford forbidding any to come and be healed until the following Michaelmas. The writer of this newspaper comments on the order that it was "upon excellent reason and very much conducing to the health and benefit of this place and to the safety of His Majesty and the two young Princes, considering the infinite multitudes of people (many of which are very poore and indigent persons) which usually resort unto the Court at the Feast of Easter under this pretence."<sup>2</sup>

This notice is, perhaps, indicative that the King had intended to hold a healing ceremony at this time, and we believe that he did indeed distribute the Maundy money at Easter as usual. I have found no postponement with regard to the September reception in such newspapers as I have searched, but the same objections would still have applied then, and it was, moreover, inconvenient, for military reasons, to allow free access to the city.

Although when the petition from London was issued the King's

<sup>1</sup> Easter Day fell on April 2nd, 1643. Lord Crawford, in his *Bibliotheca Lindesiana*, Catalogue of the Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, vol. i, No. 2393, quotes this order of March 25th, on the authority of the newspaper of the following day, but states that he has not found the proclamation itself.

<sup>2</sup> The plague did in time penetrate into Oxford, for Anthony à Wood mentions under date May, 1644, that "the infection was then in Oxon," and he and his brother had to undergo quarantine after leaving the town. See *Lives of Ireland. Herne and Wood*, vol. II, p. 21.

residence at the University had been of short duration, it dragged on intermittently from this time forward until 1646, and the memorial of necessity failing to recall Charles to the Metropolis, those suffering from the King's Evil had to await the Restoration for healing, or proceed to the Continent to seek the help of Charles II after his father's death. I have not succeeded in finding evidence as to any withdrawal of the prohibition against visiting Oxford, whither Charles, after a short absence, had returned before Michaelmas, 1643, came round.<sup>1</sup>

We have said that Charles was sometimes allowed to hold his healings whilst in prison ; and to the discontinuance of this indulgence our attention is attracted by Whitelocke, who records that letters were sent under date, April 22nd, 1647, to the House of Commons by the Commissioners at Holmby House, speaking of " the great Resort of People to the King to be cured of the King's Evil," whereon the House ordered a declaration to be drawn " to inform People of the superstition of being touched by the King for the Evil " <sup>2</sup> and also " a Letter of Thanks ordered to the Commissioners at Holmeby. " <sup>3</sup>

Whilst on his way thither on February 9th, 1646, he arrived at Leeds and healed those who came to him, as Lady Denbigh tells us in her family record, compiled from private papers at Newnham Paddox.<sup>4</sup> " A little before dinner many diseased persons came bringing with them ribbons and gold and were only touched without ceremony." The same thing had happened at Durham, and the authoress remarks : " we cannot wonder that the Commissioners

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Newbury was fought on September 20th, 1643. The King returned to Oxford, after throwing a garrison into Donnington Castle, and I have found no indication of his leaving again for some little time.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of the English Affairs*, ed. 1682, p. 248, by Bulstrode Whitelocke.

<sup>3</sup> See Commons' Journals, vol. v, p. 151 : " Anno 1647. 22 Aprilis. Ordered that it be referred to a Committee to prepare a Declaration to be set forth to the People concerning the superstition of being touched for the healing of the King's Evil." The House also ordered " that the Resort of People thither [Holmby] to be touched for the Evil may be prevented." See also *The Perfect Diurnall*, No. 195, p. 1564.

<sup>4</sup> *Royalist Father and Roundhead Son*, by the Countess of Denbigh, p. 249.

then sent a petition to Parliament begging that this custom might be stopped, as so many of the people were suffering from maladies, which made them unfit to come into his Majesty's presence." Be this as it may, the fear of a rescue or an increase in the King's popularity were equal motives for forbidding the access of the populace to Charles, and the legend on his angels brought by the patients, AMOR . POPVLI . PRÆSIDIVM . REGIS : perhaps unpleasantly reminded his guards that the "love of his people" might still prove to be "the King's defence."

We have here collected ample evidence that Charles, so long as he had gold, gave it, and then substituted silver, and of nineteenth-century writers Mr. Edward Law-Hussey alone suggests that even in his worst extremity he used brass.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Pettigrew,<sup>2</sup> it is true, figured amongst touchpieces a small medal of obvious appropriateness, believing it to be a touchpiece, but he did not attribute it to Charles I. It is a jetton belonging, as we shall see, to the mid-seventeenth century, but he placed it later, and, apparently unfamiliar with the touchpieces of the later Stuarts, he vaguely attributed it as "probably a touchpiece of the Pretenders."<sup>3</sup> The type of this piece shows on the one side a blessing hand, touching one of several heads, with the legend HE . TOUCHED . THEM . , and on the other a crowned rose and thistle with the words AND . THEY . WERE . HEALED. A freehand drawing of the obverse and reverse of this base metal jetton was placed without comment amongst a collection of data, mostly of the 17th and early 18th century, treasured by an antiquary named Robert Cole. Possibly the drawing was made by himself or a friend with a view to a publication in the early 19th century. I may be right in identifying him with a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, whose communications and presentations to that Society show him to have been

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. x, 1853, pp. 187 to 211 and 337.

<sup>2</sup> *Superstitions connected with Surgery and Medicine*, Frontispiece, figures 7 and 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126. The form of the letter A (see page 125) is that commonly used by such engravers as Greene, Briot and Simon, of the first half of the seventeenth century. It is figured in the illustrated edition of *Medallic Illustrations*, Plate XXXIII, No. 23, and also in Boyne's *Seventeenth Century Tokens*, Plate XXXVI, No. 11.

*To face page 120.*



TOKEN USED AS PASS OF ADMISSION TO HEALING CEREMONY UNDER CHARLES I.  
(From a Drawing in the Surgeon-General's Library, Washington, U.S.A.)



interested in Stuart subjects. So far as we can ascertain, the collection, now in the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington, remained unpublished until quite recently, when the MS. attracted the attention and activity of Dr. Fielding Garrison,<sup>1</sup> who published an account of these papers in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine. I am here able to illustrate the drawing by his kindness. But, although unknown to Dr. Garrison before the publication of his paper, some curious facts had come to my knowledge about this little medal, which for a short time had been mistakenly believed to have ranked actually as a touchpiece under Charles I.

In 1910 my friend Mr. Symonds, as a result of his search amongst the Audit Office Accounts in the Public Record Office, discovered evidence, which appeared to point clearly to the use of a base touch-piece by Charles I, before the Civil War began.<sup>2</sup> He found that a payment was made to the chief engraver at the Tower mint in 1635-6 "for making of Tokens, used about the healing of the disease called the King's Evil." These tokens were delivered to William Clowes,<sup>3</sup> Sergeant-Chirurgion, at 2*d.* the piece; the number of the first

<sup>1</sup> The name "Robt. Cole," in a fine Italian hand, is embossed in relief stamping on each sheet of the collection. Dr. Garrison tells me that the sketches are of such ink and on such paper as were used in the first half of the nineteenth century, and we may suppose that they and other drawings of Charles II's touchpiece are probably by Mr. Cole. There is no evidence as to what he proposed to say about them. The manuscripts were bought by the Surgeon-General's Library at the Edward Hailstone Sale in 1891, and formed the basis of Dr. Garrison's paper. *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, vol. vii, No. 6, April, 1914. His article is not illustrated.

<sup>2</sup> "Charles I. The Trials of the Pyx," by Henry Symonds. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. x, p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> This William Clowes, Sergeant-Chirurgion to Charles I, must not be confused with the William Clowes who in 1602 wrote a short book on healing called *The Fruitful and Approved Treatise for the Artificial Cure of that Malady called in Latin Struma and in English the Evil cured by the Kinges and Queenes of England*. He was then one of Elizabeth's surgeons, and was spoken of by Wiseman, writing in 1676, as "old Mr. Clows." See *Chirurgical Treatises*, p. 247. Wiseman probably wished to differentiate between William Clowes the elder and the junior, who would be known to the public of his day. Clowes the elder, 1540-1604, served with Leicester in the Netherlands in 1585, and was in the fleet opposed to the Armada in 1588. The younger, 1582-1648, was Sergeant-Surgeon to James I before he entered the service of Charles. See *Shakespeare's England*, vol. i, p. 427.

consignment being 5500. "This," wrote Mr. Symonds, "is an interesting discovery, proving, as it does, that Charles used a touch-piece of base metal, when the gold Angels had become too valuable to be distributed at such ceremonies." "This," he continues, "is the first mention of copper or brass touchpieces, but similar entries recur in later accounts. There are also frequent references to the striking of 'healing Angels.'"

This came as a matter of great surprise to me, for apart from the above allusion to the continuance of the angel series, I had these coins with mint-marks of later date. Also I, myself, had made extracts from several mint papers, which proved that the angels ran contemporaneously with the issue discovered by Mr. Symonds of the token, which he and Mr. Grueber conjecturally identified with the medal to which I have referred. Not only so, but we have seen that already in 1633, two years before the appearance of the token, Balfour said that the angel was purposely coined for healing. To what end therefore should Charles continue the making of a coin not required for circulation?

However, the evidence seemed absolutely convincing, in spite of the unbroken record of the issue of "angell-golde," and Mr. Symonds was so good as to show me, at the Public Record Office, some of the warrants, notably one under date April, 1635, speaking of a letter addressed to Sir William Parkhurst on the subject. The document runs thus: "Tokens for the Euell. 'A like'<sup>1</sup> [letter] to Sir Wm. Parkhurst to cause such number of tokens to be made as the Seriant Surgeon shall give direction for, for the use of such as the said Surgeon shall find to have the King's Evill and to allow the graver 2*d.* a token."<sup>2</sup> Another warrant<sup>3</sup> for the year 1638-9 reads: "Paid to the sd Edward . . . [Greene] for providing and making of Tokens used about the Healing of the disease called the King's . . . [Evil] by virtue of a Warrant dormante under

<sup>1</sup> "The like" refers to a letter to Thomas, 19th Earl of Arundel, who was Earl Marshall from 1622 to 1646.

<sup>2</sup> Signet Office Docket Book, Carl. I, 1634 to 1638.

<sup>3</sup> Audit Office Dcts., 1599, Roll 37.

his Mat's Signet, date the first of Aprill Anno Caroli XI<sup>mo</sup> Viz. MVCLVI Tokens [for 1557 Tokens] and delivered unto William Clowes, his Mats . . [Sergeant] Surgeon at 2*d.* the peece, soe here allowed as well by virtue of the same warrrt xij<sup>h</sup> xiiij<sup>a</sup> vj<sup>d</sup>."

Warrants of other years mentioned by Mr. Symonds show that in 1637-8, 1830 tokens were produced and, as already specified, 5500 in 1635, amounting, with the above 1557, to 8887 between 1635 and 1639. But it is unnecessary to quote further, for I have shown how fully Mr. Symonds was justified in believing that the base piece had taken the place of the gold, and although I could not reconcile to my satisfaction the double issue, I, having for the time being laid aside my research into the healing traditions, dismissed the question from my mind. Fortune, however, favoured me, for whilst searching in the *State Papers Domestic* on another quest, my eye fell upon a contemporary copy of a letter addressed to Sir William Parkhurst, which explains the whole matter.<sup>1</sup>

This document is in substance, if not in form, the "warrant dormante" to which one of the orders just quoted refers, and is in truth a draft for the letter to the Mint Warden specified in the other.

I need not say that Mr. Symonds was as pleased as I could be when I showed him the letter, proving, as it does, that the brass pieces were only admission tickets and relieving the unfortunate monarch from the imputation of giving so poor a present to his patients, whilst the Tower Mint was still in his hands.

The draft runs as follows: "To Sir Wm. Parkhurst Knt, Warden of our Mint. Trusty and well Beloved, Wee Greeete you well. Whereas by our Proclamations wee have signified our pleasure that the poore People and other your<sup>2</sup> loving subjects that are troubled with the desease comonly called the King's Euill, shall not presume to resort to our Court to be healed, but only twice in

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers Domestic*, Carl. I, vol. cclxxxvi, No. 1, April 1.

<sup>2</sup> The y, spelling *your* instead of *our*, is a mistake made by the original contemporary writer of the draft, who ran his pencil through it, the rest of the document being in ink. Although an unsigned draft, Mr. Symonds considers the evidence of this paper absolutely reliable, it being in truth the draft of the "warrant dormante" of April 1st, 1653.



the yeare (vizt Michas and Easter)<sup>1</sup> by reason whereof the number hath allway been so greate that the Sergeant Chirurgion, whose office it is to view, and prepare them for the Royall touch, hath been accustomed to give every one a token, thereby to know and distinguish those that are approued and allowed for every healing day appointed, from those that are not. And whereas wee are informed by our Sergeant Chirurgion, that there hath been a great abuse comitted by dissolute and ill-disposed People, who to gaine the Gold only have counterfeited his tokens, wch were cast in a mold made by a Freemason, whereby wee have not only been deceaved of so many Angells, but also hath many times encreased the number to be more then was appointed for the day, and many that was appointed wanted their Angells and our Royall presence disturbed by their outcry, in consideration and prevention wherof, our pleasure is and wee doe hereby will and comãd you, to giue present order unto our Seruant Edw<sup>d</sup> Greene, chief Graver of our mint, to make both presently and from time to time such number of tokens of bras Copper and such other mettall as our Serjant shall give directions for under his handwriting, every one of w<sup>ch</sup> to be in bredthe the compasse of an Angell and that the said Tokens be returned to the warden of our Mint whereby he may know what number of Angells have been expended in this our said seruice, also that you allow or pay unto our said Graver for the workmanship and metall of these the summe of 2 pence for euery such peece, being made and delivered to our Serjant chirurgeon, and whereas wee are informed that there hath been some allready made, and deliuered unto him, our pleasure is that you allow unto our Graver the same price for those that shall appeare unto you hath been made, and not allowed for, as also from time to time for those that are to be made

<sup>1</sup> The proclamations of James had already established this rule, and that of Charles I in June, 1626, had repeated it. The dates were sometimes altered owing to plague or other distempers, and this was notably the case in 1634, the year preceding the order for the tokens. The proclamation of 1635 re-asserts the King's willingness to touch at Easter and Michaelmas, but again in 1636 the healings were postponed. See Dr. Crawford's Appendices and various proclamations mentioned on our pp. 110-11.

and deliuered (as aforesaid) and this our warrant shall be your sufficient discharge to be allowed upon the accompt of the Mint. Given under our signet at.

Dated at Westm<sup>r</sup> the first day of April, 1635."

From this document it will be seen that the token here ordered was to be "in bredth the compasse of an Angell," that is to say  $1\frac{1}{10}$ -inch, whilst  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch covers the piece which by universal consent—witness Thomas Pettigrew, Robert Cole, Mr. Grueber and Mr. Symonds—has been judged to be applicable to the healing ceremony. Is not this, therefore, the old admission ticket which the new token was to supersede? Again, are some specimens Clowes's original pieces? Are not others the counterfeits which caused their supersession? The wording of the document is peculiar; for we are told that Clowes caused his tickets to be cast by a "Freemason" rather than struck, as are some of the known tokens. In Stuart times, however, it was no unusual thing to multiply by casting a medal for which a pair of dies had been made by some skilled engraver, and the first tokens, in this case, may originally have been struck. Considerable difference of opinion, moreover, has been expressed as to the fashioning of various examples, and I can only say that the few specimens I have examined or followed up have been according to my own opinion or the report of their owners



ADMISSION TICKET FOR HEALING.

as follows. That in the British Museum and Mr. Symonds's piece, after due consideration, are both adjudged struck. About my own I am doubtful, but I think it may be an extremely fine cast, although the experts to whom I have submitted it pronounced it struck. Mr. J. O. Manton purchased one at the Hodgkin sale which belongs undoubtedly to the cast category and is rougher than

those above mentioned. I might be tempted to suggest that if some of the cast copies were counterfeits, this is amongst the earlier of them. I hear from Dr. Parkes-Weber, that his specimen, which he presented to the Boston Medical Museum, is undoubtedly a contemporary cast, very fine and covered with green patina. Mr Symonds tells me that of four he examined, three were holed, one of these being in another private collection, but he could not say from memory whether this last-mentioned specimen was cast or struck. Dr. Weber informs me that his example is not holed; the same may be said of Mr. Manton's, of mine, and of that in the British Museum. So far as I have been able to compare these pieces they have been uniform in size, and personally I have seen very few pierced specimens. Had the tickets been cast successively one from another, they would naturally decrease in size from the shrinkage of the metal in each case, but the fine cast specimens must have been taken directly from one of the struck originals, and if the "Freemason" was lawfully employed for the purpose only of multiplication, we should expect the uniformity in size which we meet. On the other hand, smaller pieces by the forger are likely to be found, and although Mr. Manton's rough piece may be an early example of these, another seen and described to me by Mr. W. J. Webster was undoubtedly smaller and poorer in every respect and may be the latest survivor of the fraudulent copyist's successive although contemporary forgeries.

But how about the new piece of 1635—"in bredthe the compasse of an Angell"? It is obvious that these official tokens, which after use were to be returned to the Warden of Mint, would, however often they might be reissued, be ultimately melted down by the Parliamentary authorities as so much copper or brass, on the cessation of the service for which they were required.

It is to be hoped that discussion of the subject may lead to the discovery of specimens of a copper or brass medal measuring an inch and one-tenth, the size of Charles I's angel, and of the type either of the blessing hand, or perhaps the precursor of Charles II's Soli Deo Gloria pattern halfpenny (?) in the form of a copy of the current angel or touchpiece. But of this more anon when we discuss

the touchpieces of that king in our next volume. Sufficient alteration to preclude danger to the currency from the base metal copy of an angel would, of course, be expected, and possibly some other design might be preferred. By a strange coincidence Dr. Parkes-Weber, occupied with the discussion of Dr. Garrison's paper, which had just come out, wrote to the *Lancet* on the subject of these so-called touchpieces just two days after I had cleared Charles I's memory from the aspersion of meanness by reading my paper at our Meeting on May 25th, 1914.<sup>1</sup> He had not noticed the newspaper reports of the proceedings, but suggested various reasons for believing the medal to be no touchpiece, regarding it as having some other connection with the ceremony, such as a pass or ticket. A friendly correspondence in the *Lancet*<sup>2</sup> ensued between Dr. Parkes-Weber and myself, in which I stated that I had already produced documentary evidence to this effect. I need not go over this ground afresh, but it is desirable, with all deference to so well-known an authority on seventeenth-century jettons, to repeat my reason for not assenting to Dr. Weber's suggestion that this gap might be filled by the small medal with the legends: obverse, Pray . for . the . King . and reverse, Lord-give Thy-Blessing.<sup>3</sup>

Whilst agreeing that this might be a pass to some ceremony, I feel that in this instance there is only one instruction clearly put before us, namely, the change of size, a condition this little medal does not fulfil. The same objection applies to another jetton suggested by Dr. Weber, namely, the ROSA : SINE : SPINA & pattern of Elizabeth which is, he thinks, mistakenly placed under the name of this Queen by Mr. Montagu.<sup>4</sup> Whilst personally supporting

<sup>1</sup> Letter dated May 27th, 1914, in the *Lancet* of June 6th, 1914, p. 1651.

<sup>2</sup> See letter of June 9th, 1914, in the *Lancet* of June 20th, p. 1787, by Helen Farquhar, and Dr. Weber's answer in the *Lancet* of June 27th, and the final reply of Helen Farquhar on July 11th.

<sup>3</sup> Boyne's *Tokens*, ed. 1858, Plate 36, No. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Montagu's *Copper Coins*, p. 4, No. 6. Obverse a rose crowned within an inner circle. ROSA : SINE : SPINA & ; Reverse Shield bearing the cross of St. George, ✠ PRO . LEGE . REGE . ET GREGE . Mr. Montagu tells us that this piece has been some-

the argument used by Dr. Weber, that both legend and workmanship are more suggestive of Stuart than Tudor times, I nevertheless glanced for a moment at the possibility of finding in this, or indeed in the pattern half-groat of 1601, illustrated below, an admission ticket to Elizabeth's healings, relying on Mr. Montagu's tentative attribution of the Rosa Sine Spina piece to the days of this Queen, and on Dr. Pettigrew's assertion that tickets were required by her. The legend on the pattern half-groat, Montagu No. 1, although it alludes to the Queen as a benefactress, appears to refer rather to the intended unification of the English and Irish coinage than to her healing powers, but as this also might be cited as a possible ticket I here illustrate it.<sup>1</sup>



ELIZABETH'S PATTERN HALF-GROAT.

Pettigrew says, quoting Tooker, that those admitted had "to take with them a ticket from a physician or surgeon by whom they were examined."<sup>2</sup> He gives a long account of Elizabeth's precautions in healing, to all appearance intended as a direct translation from Tooker's Latin work, but I think, by a printer's error, the quotation marks must be misplaced, for although he gives the

times attributed to Charles I or to Charles II, and his tentative attribution to Elizabeth is on the strong ground of the similarity of this pattern, and another pattern bearing the initials E.R.

<sup>1</sup> Ruding XV, 9, where it is called a sixpence, and Pembroke's *Numismata Antiqua*, Plate 20, p. 287, where it is regarded in copper as a "trial piece." Montagu places it as a half-groat in his *Copper Coins*, p. 2, but thought it more probably a jetton. It is usually catalogued as a groat in silver or half-groat in copper, but is very rare in the latter metal. The silver struck piece is rare, but is common when cast as a medal, for the cast pieces surely cannot be considered as patterns for currency. It has rarely been seen in gold.

<sup>2</sup> *Superstitions connected with Surgery*, p. 131.

sense of the chaplain's description, the translation is very free, and the nearest approach to the "certificate under their hands," also specified by Dr. Pettigrew, consists in the words "commendantur regiæ Maiestati," and shows only that the doctors took the names of the patients and passed on these names to the Queen. No mention of a tangible metal pass or ticket is present,<sup>1</sup> nor have I found any until the time of Charles I. Nevertheless, the bare possibility presents itself that such might have been used by James I. If so, "Pray for the King" and "Lord give Thy Blessing" would bear suitably on the subject. A copper piece mentioned by Mr. Christmas with BEATI PACIFICI on the obverse and HOC OPVS DEI on the reverse would be still more appropriate as regards the last words,<sup>2</sup> whilst the blessing on the "Peace-Maker" was a favourite motto with this King and one with which he was indeed sometimes taunted.

It hardly seems necessary to warn my readers that not every jetton bearing the image of St. Michael killing the dragon is connected with touching for the King's Evil. The Archangel was the patron saint of Brussels, and several small medals were struck in the seventeenth century with varying obverses and mottoes by the Marselaer family in the Low Countries portraying Michael, but also charged with the arms of Marselaer—see Van Loon, vol. ii, pp. 399-400, and Dugniolle's, *Le Jeton Historique des Dix Sept Provinces*, tom. iii, No. 3804.

We have no direct evidence as to the moment when Clowes, the surgeon of Charles I, issued his first metal pass, but it is possible

<sup>1</sup> Tooker's *Charisma*, p. 93, "Scrophularij isti nomina dant Chirurgis regijs nomina sic data commendantur regiæ Maiestati." The sense of the long passage, with the precautions taken to be sure that the disease was really struma, is correctly given, and proves that great care was already taken both against infection and fraud; also that a preliminary examination took place.

<sup>2</sup> See Montagu's *Copper Coins of England*, p. 5. Mr. Montagu, quoting the Rev. Henry Christmas, calls this piece "a numismatic puzzle," but attributes it to the reign of James I and regards it as "a medalet or jetton only." The Beati Pacifici motto was used by James on one of Simon van de Passe's portraits, executed in about 1616. See *Medallic Illustrations*, vol. i, p. 215, No. 61.

that in the years 1631, 1632 and 1634, when frequent proclamations postponed the healings, fresh precautions were adopted to make sure that no infectious person approached the King.<sup>1</sup> In 1635, when the regular dates for touching were re-established, the rush of patients was all the greater and the scenes which disturbed his Majesty arose.

It might have been hoped that the numbers of tickets required by Clowes in each year would agree with the amount of angels issued, and thus prove that the coin was always ordered purposely for each healing season, but this is not the case. On reflection, moreover, it is obvious that the first issue of tokens would be large, but that tickets returned to the Mint would not require recoinage. It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the issue of fine gold corresponding in point of date with the 5500 tickets made between April 1st, 1635, and the following March 31st, should be but 20 lb. 9 oz. 2 dwt. 18 grs.—equalling at most about 1850 angels.<sup>2</sup> It is, however, somewhat puzzling to find that in this year £1214, namely 2428 angels, were handed to Lord Arran, Keeper of the Privy Purse, for the healing, and it becomes obvious that either a certain unused surplus existed from previous years, or else some angels were purchased from goldsmiths, as was the case at a later period, and re-issued without recoinage on coming into the Mint. It is certainly apparent that taking the amounts paid to the Keeper of the Privy Purse and specified as for “healing,” they have in nearly every case exceeded the amount set down as coined in fine gold in the same period. It is, however, matter of no surprise that the issue of tickets should, on the contrary, be smaller than that of the angels, excepting in the first year. In a careful examination of the accounts for 1636, I found no mention of tickets, and both gold issue and the payment to Lord Arran were

<sup>1</sup> An interesting letter, under date November 28, 1631, shows how prevalent was the plague. Richard Parr, writing from the Isle of Man, describes the island as being “still under God’s frowns and rods; death still sits on our threshalls, death comes into our windows and is entred into our palaces.” See *The House of Lyme*, by the Lady Newton, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Information kindly supplied by Mr. Symonds from Declared Accounts Audit Office, Bundle 1598, Roll 34.

inconsiderable.<sup>1</sup> In 1637 the fine gold coinage almost balanced Lord Arran's receipts, which amounted to £1500, whilst Clowes received 1830 tokens.<sup>2</sup> In 1638, Robert, Earl of Arran, had £500, and his successor, "James Levington, Esqre, now keep. of his Highness Privy Purse," £873 10s., resulting in a total of £1373 10s., whereas the gold output only amounted to about £1070.<sup>3</sup> In this year 1557 tokens were demanded. Thus taking one year with another we have in four years £4382 10s., namely about 8765 angels, passing through the hands of the Keeper, against a gold coinage of 80 lb. 2 oz. 5 dwt. 6 grs., which should have produced only about 7135 angels, whilst 8887 tickets were issued. It is, perhaps, unprofitable to go into these minutiae, for unless we had a complete table of all the years of Charles I's reign we could arrive at no definite approximation. But these figures are enough to show that, allowing for a slight surplus, to which I have already referred, the King must at this period have been spending at least £1000 a year in healing and probably more, for the very low output of 2 lb. 2 oz. 8 dwt. 18 grs., and the delivery of only £295 to Lord Arran in the year 1636-7 is accounted for by the plague, to which proclamations between April, 1636, and September, 1637, call our attention.<sup>4</sup> Roughly



ANGEL OF CHARLES I. MINT-MARK CROWN.

<sup>1</sup> Declared Accounts, Bundle 1599, Roll 35. The fine gold weighed 2 lb. 2 oz. 8 dwt. 18 grs., and the payment to Lord Arran was £295. There is a further sum of £4 for "provision of fine golde with other chardg incydent to the making of healing Angells for the dissease called the King's Evill."

<sup>2</sup> Declared Accounts, Audit Office, Bundle 1599, Roll 36. Kindly communicated to me by Mr. Symonds, 33 lb. 1 oz. 19 dwt. 2 grs.

<sup>3</sup> Declared Accounts, Audit Office, Bundle 1599, Roll 37. 24 lb. 15 dwt.

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix of Dr. Crawford's *The King's Evil*, pp. 180-183, and proclamations Nos. 214, 217, 219 and 220, at the Society of Antiquaries, under date April 7th, 1636,



speaking, an expenditure may be reckoned of at least £1000 to £1500 a year at this period, whilst the early years of the reign show a very much smaller coinage of angel gold.

I think we may assume that Snelling<sup>1</sup> was accurate in giving the total of fine standard gold coined in the reign of Charles I as 285 lb. 5 oz. 9 dwt. 9 grs. I cannot lay claim to having examined in the Audit Rolls these exact figures throughout, but as in eleven years out of the seventeen specifying angel coinage, which as we have seen was carried only to 1642, I found the output to be about 210 lb., we may roughly place 75½ lb. to the remaining six years. Basing, then, our calculation on Snelling, we have an average of a little under 17 lb. a year, or about £740, to dispose of, but the low coinage of the earlier half of the reign, and especially between 1630 and 1633 and in 1636 owing to plague, would lead one to suppose that in his early years Charles touched about the same number of persons as his father had done and in the last six or seven years double the amount or more.<sup>2</sup>

The amount of fine gold issued in the years I have mentioned bears no relation at all to that of crown gold, which was largely coined in the very years when fewest angels were made, and I think

April 22nd, May 27th, and October 18th. Dr. Crawford gives one of March 1st, 1636-7, from Lord Crawford's library, and one of September 3rd, 1637, from the State Papers Domestic. Angels with the mint-mark crown, of which this delivery would consist, are very rare.

<sup>1</sup> Snelling's *View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England*, p. 37. The money in tale resulted in £12,658 5s.; this would represent 25,317 angels, or if the cost of coinage, 9s. in the lb. troy, were deducted, about 25,031 angels to be distributed in seventeen years.

<sup>2</sup> To give an idea of the average issues of *Angel* as against *Crown* gold, I give a table from one of the Mint Papers at the Public Record Office. " 1629. Angel gold 26 lbs. 00 oz. 05 dwt. 16 grs. Crown gold 4806 lbs. 03 oz. 08 dwt. 00 grs. 1630. Angel gold 5 lb. 9 oz. 12 dwt. 12 grs. Crown gold 8219 lb. 6 oz. 1 dwt. 6 grs. 1631. Angel gold 13 lb. 2 oz. 16 dwt. 12 grs. Crown gold 3544 lb. 1 oz. 15 dwt. 00 gr. 1632. Angel gold 10 lb. 10 oz. 15 dwt. 00 grs. Crown gold 2556 lb. 2 oz. 15 dwt. 00 grs. 1633. Angel gold 29 lbs. 1 oz. 4 dwt. 14 grs. Crown gold 2076 lbs. 11 oz. 07 dwt. 12 grs. State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, vol. 256, No. 50. The figures which I have been able to find in various years range from little more than 2 lb. 2 oz. of fine gold as the lowest coinage to over 33 lb., and all the years of smallest output appear to correspond with the seasons of plague.

this is an additional proof that the coin was specially minted—at least during the last decade, when it is almost always pierced—solely for the King's use, and if owing to plague or for any such reason there were few healings, few angels were struck. Strange to say the number of coins in the rose and the harp pyxes is large, but the details of the portcullis pyx show that with regard to angels the rule of 15 lb. of bullion to one sample coin was not observed. Although seven angels were reserved between July, 1633, and June, 1634, only £935 18s. 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d., or 21 lb. 0 oz. 7 dwt. 19 grs., represented the total portcullis coinage. If, on the other hand, we were to base our calculations on the angels found in the pyx boxes, on a basis of one angel to 15 lb. weight of gold coined, we should in this reign have a total of 1755 lb. of the fine standard to account for, whereas we have seen that it reached about 284 $\frac{1}{2}$  lb. The pyx details of this portcullis<sup>1</sup> trial, however, which I found in State Papers Domestic, prove that this general rule cannot have been strictly observed, and Mr. Symonds, to whom I referred the question, agreed with me in thinking that an angel must have been put into the pyx however small the parcel of gold coined, and we rely more safely on the figures taken from the Audit Office Accounts and State Papers Domestic. A certificate of money issued at the Exchequer contains amongst other items, between March 28th and April 11th, in the year 1635, an entry which must refer to the Easter ceremonies: "Sir William Parkhurst for Angel Gould for healing 600 li."<sup>2</sup>

One of the seventeenth-century sheets in the Washington MSS. Collection<sup>3</sup> amplifies this statement and reads "Moneyes issued at

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, No. 42. "A note of the Coyned Monies of Angell Golde, Crowne Golde and Silver within the Pyx (the Privie Mark being the portcullis from the tryall of the pix of xvi of June 1634. Coyned in Angell gold monies 21 lb. 00 oz. 7 dwt. 19 grs. at xliiiij<sup>1</sup> x<sup>s</sup> the poundweight Cometh to in monies by tale 935 li 18<sup>s</sup> 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. . . . There is in the Pyx of Angell gold iij li x<sup>s</sup>." This estimate of seven angels in the pyx of June, 1634, corresponds with the £3 10s. in Mr. Symonds's list, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1914, but this amount of angels should stand for 105 lb. weight of gold on the principle of one coin to 15 lb. of bullion.

<sup>2</sup> State Papers Domestic, Carl. I, cclxxxvi, No. 74.

<sup>3</sup> "A Relic of the King's Evil in the Surgeon General's Library." *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, April, 1914, pp. 227-8.

the Receipt of the Exchqr for Angell Gold for the King's Healinges  
By virtue of his late Ma<sup>ty</sup> Lres of Privy Seals Dormant, dated the  
IXth day of June in the iiij yeare of King Charles the first.

|                |      |      |    |    |
|----------------|------|------|----|----|
| Termino Michls | 1628 | 600. | 0. | 0. |
| Pascha         | 1628 | 110. | 0. | 0. |
| Michls         | 1629 | 200. | 0. | 0. |
| Pasche         | 1633 | 550. | 0. | 0. |
| Pasche         | 1634 | 350. | 0. | 0. |
| Pasche         | 1635 | 600. | 0. | 0. |

We have here a total of £2410 in eight years, and the same amount is noted in the State Papers Domestic, in an abstract of Tower Accounts.<sup>1</sup> This Mint-roll gives slightly different dates, each item being recorded one year later than the above, but the entry of £600 paid to Parkhurst in 1635 appears more consonant with the Washington paper than with this abstract and exceeds the payment to the Keeper of the Privy Purse in 1636. The one is probably the date of the Exchequer entry, the other the date of the receipt at the Mint. We may conclude that the supplies of fine gold coined in these years were, as I have suggested, carried forward, meeting the deficit in the ensuing issues to "the Privy Purse."

The angels of Charles I are often carelessly struck, with no due relation of the one side to the other ; so that, even if the piercing be correctly done with a view to the preservation of St. Michael's head, the ship hangs sideways, to right or to left as the case may be. The holes, present in the majority of examples,<sup>2</sup> are large, but this may be partly due to the wear to which they were subjected, they having been repurchased and used again and again for a considerable time after the Restoration. One very beautiful pattern for an angel

<sup>1</sup> State Papers Domestic, Carl I, vol. dxiii, Parchment Case. F, No. 17. " Monies received out of ye Excheqr towards providing fine gold to cure ye King's Évill viz. In Anno 1628 600 li. oos. ood., in Anno 1630 310 li. oos. ood., in Anno 1634 550 li. oos. ood., in Anno 1635 350 li. oos. ood., in Anno 1636 600 li. oos. ood. Total—2410."

<sup>2</sup> Unholed pieces are naturally preferred by collectors, and of Mr. Montagu's eight angels six were unpierced, of which that bearing mint-mark bell was the latest, the succeeding mint-marks are almost always pierced.

exists in the British Museum. It was made by Briot,<sup>1</sup> but was apparently not acceptable to the authorities at the Mint, although if this coinage was effected for the use of Charles only, it is somewhat surprising he did not select the milled work of his favourite engraver. But this would have led to complications in workmanship, excepting in the few years when Briot was suffered to use his own inventions at the Tower, and if made during this period might have come into use with the coinage of 1631-2 or 1638-9. We must, however, remember that Briot was working privately for the King from 1626 onwards, and made patterns at various times, notably in 1628 and 1634. The great rarity of the piece and its condition point to its being a pattern which would have served just as well for an admission ticket, since it was not selected for the coinage, and the question presents itself whether it was a design for the token in "breadth the compasse of an Angell"? The fact that the only known specimen is in gold militates against this hypothesis.



PATTERN ANGEL, BY BRIOT.

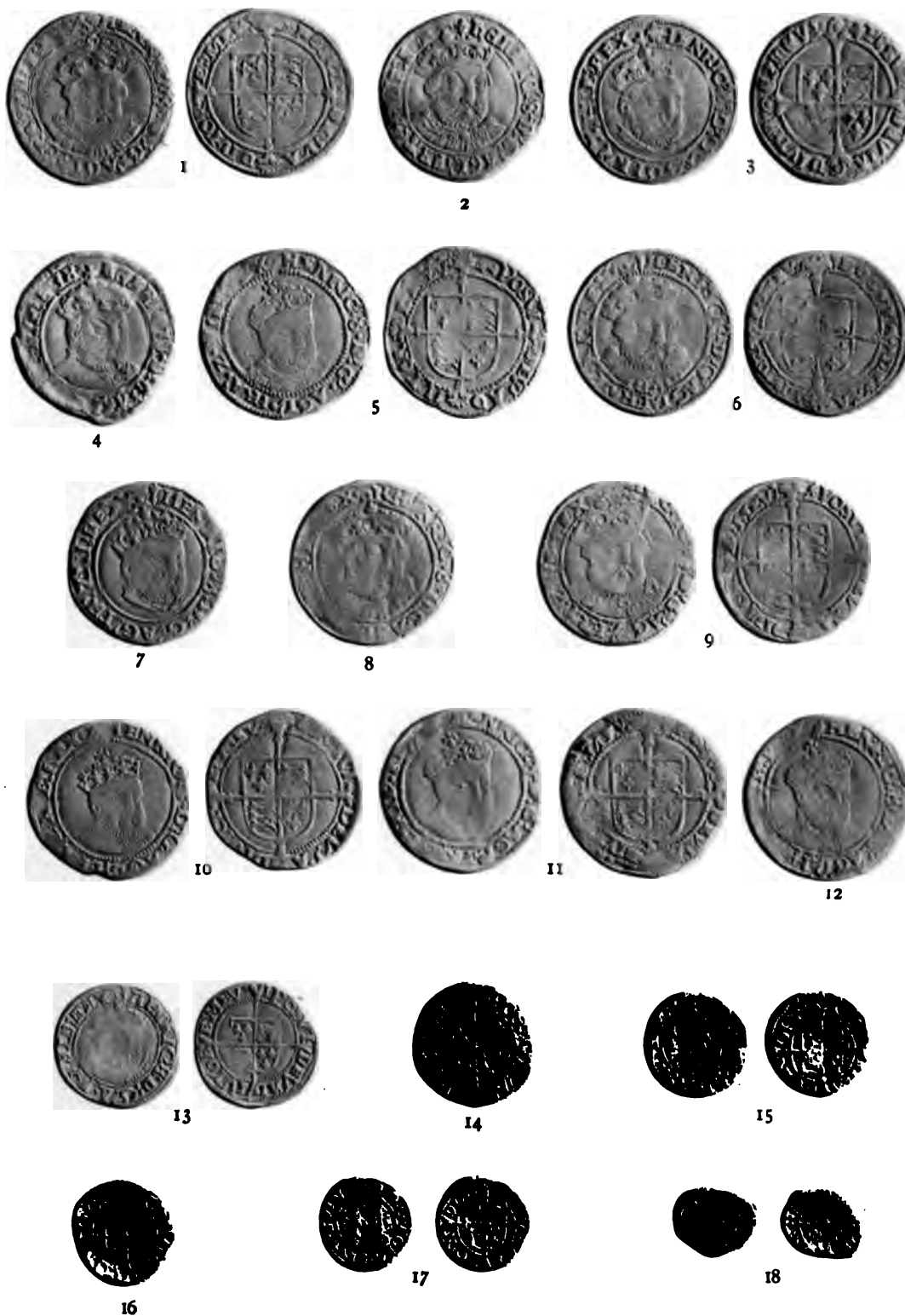
With its slightly effeminate St. Michael it forms a link between the ordinary angel and the touchpieces of Charles II, the chain being perfected by the design figured in Vertue's *Medals of Thomas Simon* as a pattern by this artist.<sup>2</sup> But we must wait for our next volume before we can discuss the "Healings" after the Restoration.

<sup>1</sup> The weight of Briot's pattern angel, which is of gold, is 64.9 gr., and therefore slightly in excess of the current coin, which adhered to the  $64\frac{4}{11}$  grains of James I's last angel. It was valued at 10s. and 89 went to the pound troy.

<sup>2</sup> *Medals, Coins, Great Seals and other Works of Thomas Simon*, by George Vertue, with appendix by Richard Gough, ed. 1780, Plate XXXIX, Figures D and E.







**BASE COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.**

Issues with his father's name and portrait.

PLATE I.

## THE SILVER COINS OF EDWARD VI.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**I**N recent years the researches of the late Sir John Evans and Mr. Henry Symonds have led to many discoveries which have altered the hitherto accepted arrangement of the coins of the reign of Edward VI.

Sir John Evans, in his paper on "The Debased Coinage bearing the name of Henry VIII," published in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. VI, conclusively proved that a great quantity of this money must have been struck during the reign of his son. Mr. Symonds, from documentary evidence, comes to the same conclusion.

When Edward VI ascended the throne, the following mints were at work :—The Tower, where there were three sets of workers ; Southwark, Bristol, Canterbury and York, and to these, for eleven months, from December, 1548, to November, 1549, was added Durham House, in the Strand. At the end of his reign one set at the Tower and that at York were the only mints working, one of the Tower mints having ceased in February, 1547–8, and another in March, 1551–2, Southwark about December, 1550, Bristol in October, 1549, and Canterbury in February, 1549–50.

There does not appear to have been any public trial of the pyx, though private trials at the mints are mentioned, so there is no official record of the sequence of mint-marks. Sir John Evans made a list of these and allotted them to the different mints.

Many irregularities were committed in these mints, and several of the principal officials were, in consequence, discharged. Sir John Yorke, who after the closing of the Southwark mint went to the Tower, with the other Under Treasurer, Nicholas Throgmorton,



was dismissed in 1551. Sir William Sharrington, at Bristol, suffered the same fate in 1549, but he alone appears to have been prosecuted.

The question arises, why were these early coins of Edward struck in the name of his predecessor? The first dated coin bearing his name and portrait is the shilling of 1549, some two years after his accession, so that the suggested reason of wearing out the dies which were in use at that time does not appear to be conclusive. His father certainly had continued the coinage with the dies of Henry VII for eighteen years, but he had altered them by the addition of another digit to the numeral, and thus made them applicable to himself. Mr. H. Symonds cleverly suggests that, as the silver for these base coins was derived from the melting down of testoons which had been issued in the previous reign, the King or his advisers decided to retain the name of Henry on them to indicate the origin of the silver, and he paraphrases the translation of the legend REDDE CVIQUE QVOD SVVM EST, which is found on the groats with the mint-mark bow, by "Render to Henry the things that are his." As many of these Testoons were of ten, or six ounces fine, and they were coined into smaller denominations of four ounces fine, doubtless there was a good deal of profit after all expenses of the re-coinage had been paid. A similar thing was done in France in 1912, when 20 millions of francs in pieces of 2 francs, 1 franc, and 50 centimes, of 835 millièmes fine, were coined from the melting down of 5 franc pieces, of dates prior to 1830, of 900 millièmes fine. (*Spink and Son's Numismatic Circular*, Vol. XXI, p. 391.)

Sir John Evans describes five portraits which appear on the groat and smaller denominations of the base coins of Henry VIII, of which three, the first, third and fifth, apply to those attributed to his successor. The description is as follows:—

No. 1.—"Nearly full faced, there is a well-developed fur collar round the neck; and what seems to be a flowing robe upon the shoulders." (Pl. I, No. 1.) Later this portrait becomes much more like No. 2, the collar being less prominent, and sometimes there is a rose brooch on the breast. On the pennies the bust is quite full faced. (Pl. I, No. 17.)

No. 2.—“ Rather less full faced, and longer, with the fur collar less apparent, and with a circular button under the chin.” (Pl. I, No. 2.)

No. 3.—“ This is three-quarter-faced, and shows a narrow falling collar, but hardly anything of the neck or shoulders.” (Pl. I, No. 3.)

No. 4.—“ The portrait is somewhat like No. 2, but has plain drapery on the shoulders, a small button in front, and a narrow falling collar.” (Pl. I, No. 4.)

No. 5.—“ This represents the King three-quarter face, and on a rather smaller scale than the other portraits. He wears a falling collar, broader than that in No. 3, and the shoulders are shown, not with a flowing robe, but with a more close-fitting coat, apparently embroidered.” (Pl. I, No. 5.)

A special portrait, which appears on the Bristol groats, is similar to No. 2, but has a rose or quatrefoil clasp to the fur collar. (Pl. II, No. 11.)

During the reign seven different indentures with the officers of the various mints were entered into, namely :—

First : Dated 5th April, 1547, with the three mints at the Tower, Southwark, Bristol and Canterbury. The silver coins mentioned are : testoon and farthing (at the Tower, Southwark and probably Bristol), groat, half-groat, penny and half-penny. Although there is no reference to York, the mint at that city was working.

Second : Dated 16th February, 1547-48, with two mints at the Tower, Southwark, Canterbury, Bristol and York, refers to the following silver coins : groat, half-groat, penny and halfpenny.

Third : Dated 24th January and supplemented on 29th January, 1548-9, with the Tower, Durham House, Canterbury and probably Southwark and Bristol, authorized the issue of shillings 8 oz. fine, 98 to the lb., or 60 grains each, and sixpences in proportion. The sixpence is not known.

Fourth : Dated 12th April, 1549, with the Tower and Bristol, Canterbury and probably Durham House and Southwark, for shillings only, of 6 oz. fine, 72 to the lb., or 80 grains each.

Fifth : Dated 18th December, 1550, with Southwark, referring only to gold coins. This was executed just before the Mint closed. A commission was issued in Edward's fifth year, about January, 1550-1, reducing the standard of silver for the shillings from 6 oz. to 3 oz. fine.

Sixth : A commission, dated 1st October, 1551, was issued to the two mints at the Tower to coin crowns, half-crowns, shillings and sixpences of 11 oz. 1 dwt. fine, and pence, half-pence and farthings of the old base standard. This coinage can be taken as the fine silver issue. York was directed to continue the old standard. In 1552 pieces of three pence were ordered, and York was authorized to coin sixpences and three pences of the fine standard.

Seventh : A commission dated 11th June, 1553, to the Tower mint, to coin pieces of only 3 oz. fine. No coins struck under this instrument are known, and none probably were struck, as the King died on the 6th July following.

The coinages of Edward VI may be divided into three periods.

The first contains all the coins bearing the portrait and name of Henry VIII.

The second, those of base coinage with the name and portrait of Edward VI.

The third, the fine silver issue of 1551.

## PART I.

### COINS BEARING THE PORTRAIT AND NAME OF HENRY VIII.

The late Sir John Evans, in the paper already referred to, has so ably shown that Edward VI did coin moneys bearing the name and portrait of his father, that there is no necessity for me to do so. Briefly, his arguments were these :—

1. The alteration in the portrait on the gold coins, a much younger face being introduced.

2. The changing of the lettering from the old English or Lombardic character to the Roman.
3. Reference to indentures and contemporary events.

The connection of the first of these arguments with the silver coins lies in the mint-marks, which are common to both silver and gold, with the exception of the testoon.

The great scarcity of mules adds to the difficulty of forming a sequence of mint-marks, which is increased by there being no documentary reference to them.

There is also a change in the stops on the groats, for on those bearing the lis mint-mark, with Lombardic lettering, and the corresponding pieces with **æ** and **ſ** in the forks, the stops are trefoils, somewhat in the form of the figure 7, whereas on the coins with Roman lettering, the stops are at first open lozenges, or mascles, some of which have their sides incurved, and, when blurred, look like indistinct saltires or crosses; in some cases, however, irons for making saltires or crosses were used. Next are pellets, which on some coins look as though put in with worn-out lozenge irons, and last of all are saltires. With these stops, crescents or broken annulets, and, except with the incurved mascles, half roses or sun-flowers, appear in the forks of the cross.

The standard of the coins is a nominal 4 oz. fine. The assay varies from 4 oz. 12 dwts. down to 3 oz. 18 dwts., but the average is over 4 dwts. In order not to lose money, coins of the higher assay appear to have been made lighter, so that in the language of the proverbial showman, "what they lost on the swings they made up on the round-a-bouts."

Another explanation of this, and probably the true one, is that as the baser metal volatilizes more quickly than the silver, it is very difficult to get an alloy of this low assay accurate.

These pieces were coined at all the mints, namely the three at the Tower, Durham House, Southwark, Bristol, Canterbury and York.

## THE METROPOLITAN MINTS.

These mints will be taken together, as the identification of that to which any given coin can be ascribed is conjectural. They were the three at the Tower, that at Durham House, in the Strand, and that at Suffolk House, in Southwark. The task is made more difficult by the absence of any account of the Southwark mint, though the accounts for the others are fairly complete.

It is unnecessary to consider the testoons, as there is nothing to distinguish those struck by Edward VI from those of his father. There was no alteration in the mint-mark, and the legends are always in Lombardic characters.

On the remaining coins, with the exception of the half-penny and some of the pennies, the following mint-marks appear:—arrow or bolt, lis, K, E, bow, grapple or pick lock, and martlet. These eight mint-marks have to be divided between the five mints.

On examining these coins it will be found that some of all denominations read CIVITAS LONDON on the reverse, and these Sir John Evans attributed to Southwark. Mr. Henry Symonds does not agree with him, but I am of Sir John's opinion. The Southwark mint was inaugurated in June, 1545, at Suffolk House, which had been built by Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, a few years before, but had about this time come into the possession of the King, who changed its name to Southwark Place. It stood close to the Church of St. George the Martyr, which is in the High Street, Borough, and was outside the City of London. Up to that time the larger denominations of the silver coins had always borne on the reverse the POSVI legend, so when a second mint was established, so close to the other, some distinction had to be made. It appears to me only proper that the original mint should keep the old legend and let the new one adopt another. About this year, 1545, we find two varieties of the groat, one with the mint-mark lis, with the POSVI legend, and the other without mint-mark, and with the legend CIVITAS LONDON, and **α** and **ς** in the forks at the extremities of the cross. That with the lis mint-mark had first been coined at

the Tower in the 34th year, 1543, so when the Southwark mint was started, in 1545, it would continue to be struck at its original mint, and any alteration would be given to the new establishment. At this time four portraits of the King seem to be used indiscriminately. As there were four mints, that is to say three at the Tower—for the second was started in 1544 and the third in 1545—and one at Southwark, a portrait might have been made a means of distinction, but this was not done, for we find these portraits not only on all the London coins, but also on those of Canterbury and York. I shall therefore take all the groats and half-groats reading CIVITAS LONDON as having been struck at Southwark.

All coins with the legends in Lombardic characters are attributed to Henry VIII, for it is only with the guidance of the gold coins with Roman letters that we are able to give the corresponding silver pieces to Edward VI. It is with these bearing the eight mint-marks, all of which have Roman lettering, that we have to deal. These seven marks have to be allotted to the five mints, for a period of about four years, 1546-7 to 1550-51. Only one has the reverse legend CIVITAS LONDON throughout, and that is the mark E, which, according to my argument, belongs to Southwark. It must have been used the whole time, as on the groats we find it with crescents or half annulets, as well as with half roses in the forks, and also on the smaller coins with the portrait of Edward VI. Those with the bow and grapple marks, Mr. Symonds attributes to Durham House, and Sir John Evans admitted that there was a likelihood of this. Both these mint-marks are associated with the REDDE CVIQVE legend on the reverse, but, as many of the coins showing the grapple also bear the POSVI legend, I think that after the closing of the Durham House mint, in November, 1549, the mark must have been transferred to the Tower.

The remaining marks, that is to say the lis, arrow, K, and martlet, must be left to the Tower. The lis was a continuation of the old mint-mark, as I have a mule groat with the third portrait and Roman lettering on the obverse, and, on the reverse, Lombardic lettering and annulet enclosing pellet in the forks ; its proper reverse

has only half roses in the forks. The arrow has, on the groats, both the crescent and the half roses in the forks, and is found, like the E, on the smaller denominations bearing the portrait of Edward VI. The K has both the crescents and half roses in the forks. These three marks I take to be those of the three mints at the Tower, but which mark belongs to which mint I am unable to say.

There remains the martlet. Sir John Evans attributed this to Southwark, but I find no place for it there, as I have already expressed the opinion that the E mark remained in use until the closing of the mint. The martlet is found with saltire, as well as with pellet, stops with a half rose in the forks, and therefore came late. This we know, as the half rose with lozenge stops is found on the second issue of the Irish groats, or rather sixpences, in 1550. The coins bearing the lis and martlet are not so common as those with the other two mint-marks.


As regards the portraits, No. 1 is found with both crescents and half roses in the forks. No. 3 is only found with crescents in the forks. There is a coin of York, which is an exception, but this may be a mule. No. 5 is only found with the half rose in the forks.

The general description of the coins is as follows:—

Groats: obverse, crowned Bust of King Henry VIII, full or nearly full face, dressed in royal robes, within an inner circle. Legend: HENRIC 8' · D' · G' · AGL' · FRA' · HI' or HIB' · REX; reverse, square shield bearing the royal arms on a cross fourchée, the arms of which extend through an inner circle nearly to the edge of the coin. In the fork at each extremity is either a crescent or a broken annulet, or else a half rose or sunflower; legend: POSVI DEV' · ADIVTORE' · MEV'—except on those with mint-mark E, which have CIVITAS LONDON, and those with mint-mark bow, which have REDDE or REDD' CVIQVE or CVIQ' QVOD or Q' SVVM EST. The stops on both sides are usually lozenges or mascles, the sides of the latter being sometimes incurved, and subsequently pellets, or, in a few instances, saltires.

The half-groats are similar to the groats, but have the legends on the obverse somewhat further abbreviated, as A' · AG' AGL · AL',

· F · FR., HI., HIB · HB', · RE. There is nothing in the forks. The abbreviations A and F are found on those with the grapple mint-mark, and thus show that this was the latest form. Those with mint-mark E have CIVITAS LONDON as the reverse legend.

The pennies are similar to the half-groats, but the legends are different, that on the obverse being  or H' · D' · G' · ROSA · SINE · SPINIS, SPINE, SPIN, SPI, or SP., and on the reverse CIVITAS LONDON.

The halfpennies are similar to the pennies as regards the obverse; on the reverse they have three pellets in the angles of the cross fourchée, instead of the shield, but show the same legend. The country mints, for all denominations, have for reverse legend the name of the mint.

#### THE TOWER.

The mint-marks, as I have already stated, are arrow or bolt, K, lis, and martlet, and there are also coins without mint-mark.

#### GROATS.

1. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1; stops, lozenges; crescents in the forks of the cross on the reverse.

2. Mint-mark arrow, on both sides, or on reverse only; portraits No. 1 and No. 3; stops, lozenges, or mascles; crescents, or more rarely half roses, in the forks of the cross. (Pl. I, Nos. 6 and 7.)

3. Mint-mark K, on obverse only; portrait No. 1; stops, lozenges and mascles, both plain and incurved; crescents or half roses in the fork of the cross. (Pl. I, No. 8.) I have a specimen with the K stamped over the arrow on the reverse.

4. Mint-mark lis, on reverse only; portrait No. 1, stops, lozenges; half roses in the forks of the cross. (Pl. I, No. 1.) There is a mule, with mint-mark on both sides, with portrait No. 3, stops, mascles; the reverse has Lombardic lettering; stops, trefoils; annulets enclosing pellets in the forks. (Pl. I, No. 3.)

5. Mint-mark martlet, facing to the right, on both sides, portrait No. 1; pellet stops; half roses in the forks (Pl. I, No. 9); or with



portrait No. 5, stops, lozenges, pellets, or saltires on the obverse, pellets on the reverse. (Pl. I, Nos. 10, 11, 12.)

This last is the only groat coined at the Tower which bears a mint-mark, except that with the grapple, which has the fifth bust. The grapple properly belongs to Durham House. The coins bearing the martlet may have been struck at the same time as the shilling of 1550, with portrait of Edward VI, bearing the same mark. The shillings, however, have the martlet facing to the left, which might have been merely a distinction to show the difference in the standard of silver. I have a groat with this mint-mark with the fifth busts Lombardic lettering on the reverse, and half roses in the forks, which I put last of all, just before the introduction of the fine silver coinage with the same kind of lettering.

#### HALF-GROATS.

There are fewer varieties of half-groats than of groats. Nearly all have the first portrait, lozenge or masclé stops, and nothing in the forks of the cross.

1. Mint-mark : arrow both sides (Pl. I, No. 13) ; also with portrait No. 5 (Murdoch sale, first portion, lot 451) HI — ;
2. Mint-mark obverse arrow, reverse E ;
3. Mint-mark obverse arrow, reverse grapple ;
4. Mint-mark obverse, none ; reverse K (Pl. I, No. 14).

I have not met with the mint-marks lis or martlet. Attention must be drawn to those with arrow on the obverse and E, or grapple, on the reverse. The former is a mix-up, as the E is given to Southwark. This coin formerly belonged to Sir John Evans, and the only explanation he could offer was—"It seems to me possible that there has in this instance been some interchange of dies between two mints." This might also apply to the latter, which has been given to Durham House, but which I think was used at the Tower after the closing of the Strand Mint in October, 1549. If this was the case there would be nothing extraordinary in the muling. It must be noted that as the arrow is the only mint-mark found on the obverse,

so a die bearing this mint-mark might easily have been issued to the other mints by mistake or through carelessness.

PENNIES.

The pennies generally have the first portrait, lozenge mascle, incurved mascle, or pellet stops, and are found with the following mint-marks.

1. Mint-mark arrow, reverse only, portrait No. 1; Lombardic *ṛ*, two lozenges or mascles after each word except D., which has none; SP. (Pl. I, No. 15).

2. Mint-mark K, on reverse only; portrait No. 1, two mascles after H.D.G. and one after ROSA, SINE, SPI. (Pl. I, No. 16.)

3. Mint-mark lis on reverse only, portrait No. 5, Montagu sale, 2nd portion, lot 771.

4. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, stops single lozenges, SIN, SPI or SP; another, portrait No. 1, stops, incurved mascles, SINE, SPI; another, portrait No. 1, pellet stops, SIN · SPI; others with portrait No. 5, with lozenge or pellet stops. (Pl. I, No. 17.)

I have seen none with the martlet mint-mark.

HALF-PENNIES.

These coins are very badly struck, and the only one I can give to Edward VI has no mint-mark; but two mascles after SP. (Pl. I, No. 18.) In the Montagu sale, 2nd portion, lot 771, there was a half-penny with mint-mark lis, with what I take to be portrait No. 5.

I place these pennies and half-pennies with no mint-mark to the Tower, but of course they may have been struck either at Southwark or Durham House.

SOUTHWARK MINT.

All the coins attributed to this mint have CIVITAS LONDON for the legend on the reverse.

## GROATS.

The first groat I give to this mint is one with no mint-mark, but **æ** and **s** in the forks of the cross on the reverse. On some specimens a reversed D is used for C on both sides of the coin. (Pl. II, No. 1.) The rest have the mint-mark E on the reverse. (Pl. II, Nos. 2, 4.) Portraits 1 or 5, stops, lozenges, mascles, both with and without curved sides, annulets and pellets; crescents or half roses in the forks. The incurved mascle stops are found only on some of the coins with the first bust, and the annulet stops only on some with the fifth bust. (Pl. II, No. 3.) Thus there is a clear sequence of these groats from the commencement of the reign to the cessation of the working of the mint in December, 1550.

## HALF-GROATS.

These have for a mint-mark E on the reverse, or no mint-mark at all. One with E in my possession has RE for REX (Pl. II, No. 5). I have already referred to one having the arrow on the obverse and E on the reverse.

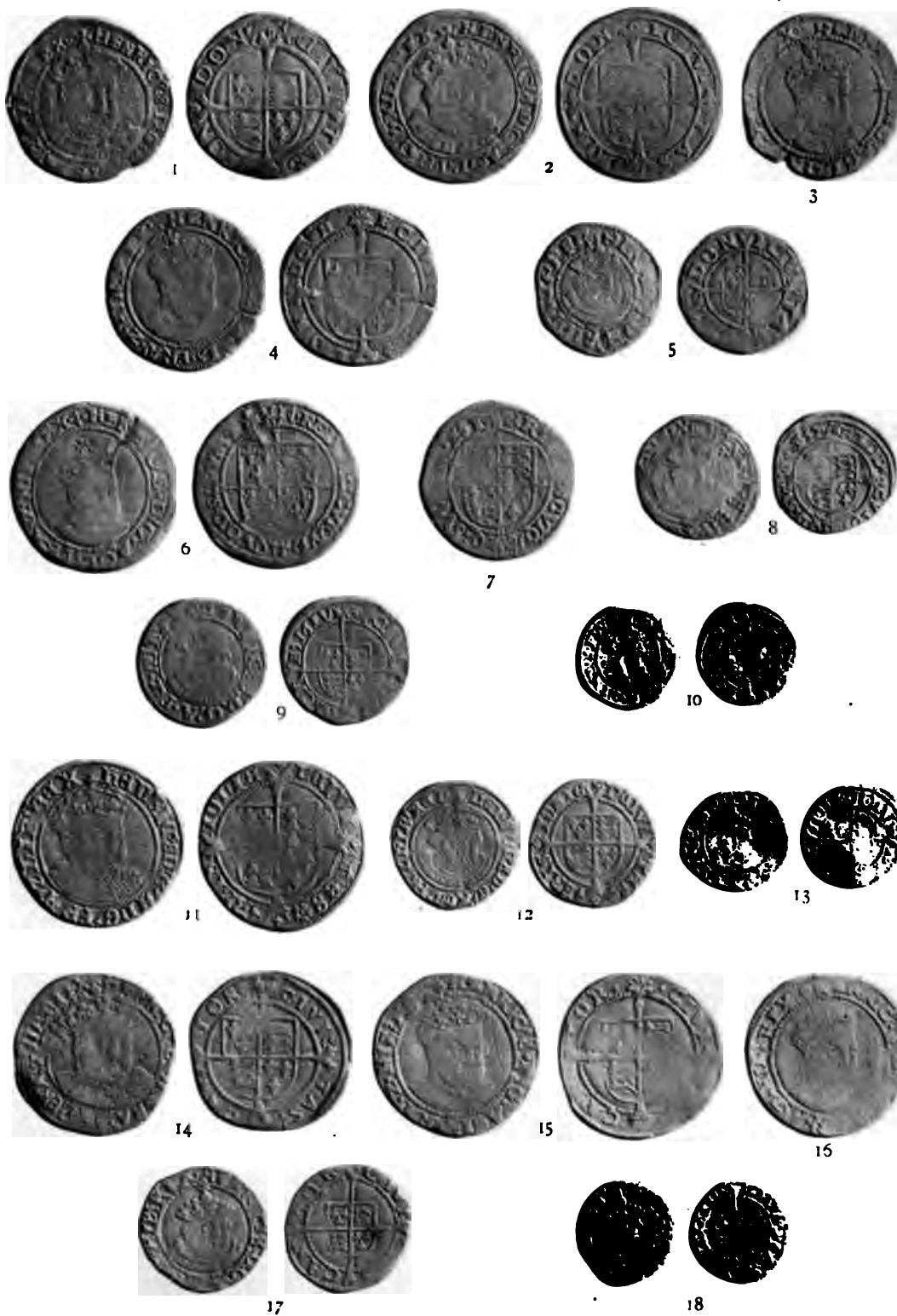
## PENNIES AND HALFPENCE.

There was a penny, mint-mark E, portrait No. 5, in the Montagu sale, 2nd portion, lot 774, and probably some of those without mint-mark, which I have already referred to, were coined here.

## DURHAM HOUSE.

To this mint are attributed all those coins having the REDDE CVIQVE legend on the reverse. The principal mint-mark is the bow, which Mr. Symonds gives to John Bowes, the Under-Treasurer of this mint, and not to Sir Martin Bowes, who filled a similar office at one of the mints at the Tower. The other mint-mark is the grapple, which is allotted to this mint on the strength of Snelling III, 45, a mule having the obverse mint-mark bow. With this exception all the coins bearing this mark correspond with those of the Tower, which leads me to think that the bow mint-mark must have been in use at the time of the closing of the mint in October, 1549, and that





BASE COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.  
Issues with his father's name and portrait.

the dies were taken over by the authorities at the Tower and used there.

#### GROATS.

Mint-mark bow, portrait No. 5 AG (Montagu sale, 2nd portion. lot 777) AGL, reverse as stated before in general description, but the arms of the cross have a different fork. There are two varieties of this fork. The first is somewhat similar to that found with the crescent, the second ends in two spirals, with a spike coming out of each, and, within the spikes, an undetermined object. The stops are on the obverse lozenges, with sometimes a saltire on either side of the mint-mark, and on the reverse saltires (Pl. II, Figs. 6 and 7).

Mint-mark grapple. This is met with, as before stated, in conjunction with the mint-mark bow on the obverse. The reverse legend which accompanies it is REDDE CVIQVE QVOD SVVM EST; there are crescents in the forks and saltire stops. Coins with the grapple on the reverse only, have portraits 1 or 5, and on the reverse the POSVI legend, with half rose in the forks of the cross and pellet stops. Some have no stops on the reverse. (Pl. I, No. 5.)

#### HALF-GROATS.

Mint-mark bow, on reverse only, portrait No. 1, ANG HI, stops undecipherable; reverse REDD' CVIQ' QD × SVVM × EST; stops, saltires. (Pl. II, No. 8.)

No mint-mark obverse or reverse; otherwise as coins with the bow; stops, saltires (Hawkins, No. 410).

Mint-mark grapple, on reverse only, portrait No. 1; A · F · HIB; lozenge stops; reverse, POSVI DEV' ADIVTORE' MEV', no stops. (Pl. II, No. 9.)

#### PENNIES.

Mint-mark bow, on obverse only; portrait No. 1; reverse legend RED · CVIQ · Q · SV · EST, lozenge stops (Hawkins, No. 411).

Mint-mark grapple, on reverse only; portrait No. 1, SPINIS, pellet stops; reverse CIVITAS LONDON. (Pl. II, No. 10.)

## HALF-PENCE.

Unknown, and probably struck without a mint-mark.

## THE COUNTRY MINTS.

The country mints were Bristol, Canterbury and York. The coins of the two latter are very similar to those of London, and have the same peculiarities as regards portraits, ornaments in the forks, and stops. The reverse legend is the name of the mint. Bristol coins differ from the others, as Lombardic lettering continued to be used, except on one penny, until the mint was abolished in October, 1549.

## BRISTOL.

## TESTOONS.

Though a great number of these are known to have been issued, as the striking of an excessive number was one of the charges against Sir William Sharrington, the Sub-Treasurer of the mint at the beginning of the reign, none can be actually identified, as apparently the dies were the same as those used during the reign of Henry VIII.

## GROATS.

The Groats, like the Testoons coined by Sir William Sharrington, cannot be distinguished from those struck for Henry VIII, as there does not appear to be any change in the lettering, or mint-mark. It is only when Thomas Chamberlain succeeded Sharrington as Vice-Treasurer in 1548-9, that it becomes possible to identify them, owing to the change of mint-mark. This groat has as mint-mark, his initials, T.C., in monogram, on the reverse only. The obverse has the special portrait previously mentioned, with a quatrefoil on the breast. The legend is in a very ornate Lombardic lettering, which is found on Bristol coins only, and pellet stops are used; reverse **QIVITVS BRISTOLIA**, a rose after **TVS** and before **BRIS**, trefoils in the forks of the cross. (Pl. II, No. 11.)

HALF-GROAT.

The only half-groat which can be allotted to Edward VI is one with mint-mark T.C., in monogram, on the reverse. The obverse shows portrait No. 1, legend the same as on the groat, but RR'; Lombardic lettering, pellet stops. The reverse is similar to that of the groat, except that there is a lis instead of a rose before BRIS. (Pl. II, No. 12.)

PENNY.

The only penny that can be given to Edward VI has an obverse like that of London, with no mint-mark, SPI, and for stops, two mascles; reverse CIVITAS BRISTOLE in Roman letters. (Pl. II, No. 13.)

HALF-PENNIES.

No half-pennies are known.

CANTERBURY.

The coins of this mint are similar to those of London, but the reverse legend is CIVITAS CANTOR, sometimes with pellets before and after the words. They have the same peculiarities with regard to the stops and the ornamentation at the end of the forks. On the half-groat and smaller denominations there is no mint-mark. The mint ceased working in February, 1549-50, after an existence of some seven hundred years, and has never been resuscitated.

GROATS.

1. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, with rose on breast; DI' GRA'; trefoil stops; nothing in the forks of the cross. (Pl. II, No. 14.) One of these has reversed D's for C's in the reverse legend, like the early Southwark groat previously described.

2. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, incurved mascle stops, crescents in the forks of the cross.

3. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, with rose on breast, or portrait No. 5, lozenge stops; half roses in the forks of the cross.



4. No mint-mark, portrait No. 5, half roses in the forks of the cross.

5. No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, with rose on breast, or portrait No. 5; pellet stops, half roses in the forks of the cross.

6. Mint-mark lis, on obverse only, portrait No. 5; pellet stops; half rose in forks of the cross. (Pl. II, No. 15.)

7. Mint-mark rose, on obverse only, otherwise similar to No. 6. (Pl. II, No. 16.)

#### HALF-GROATS.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1; AG' FR', HIB'; on reverse a pellet before and after each word. One has the reverse legend in Lombardic lettering and no pellets.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, AG' FR' HI' or HIB'; mascle stops; no pellets in reverse legend. (Pl. II, No. 17.)

Mint-mark t, on reverse only; portrait No. 1; mascle stops. (Fig. 1.) This half-groat, which is in the collection of Mr. F. A.



FIG. 1, CANTERBURY HALF-GROAT, WITH MINT-MARK t.

Walters, is of great importance, as it proves the correctness of the attribution to Canterbury of the Edward testoons bearing the same mint-mark.

#### PENNIES.

There are three varieties of the penny, all without mint-mark :

With mascle stops, portrait No. 1, Lombardic **ƿ** **sp** : this is similar to those pennies of London which show this form of **ƿ** (Pl. II, No. 18) ;

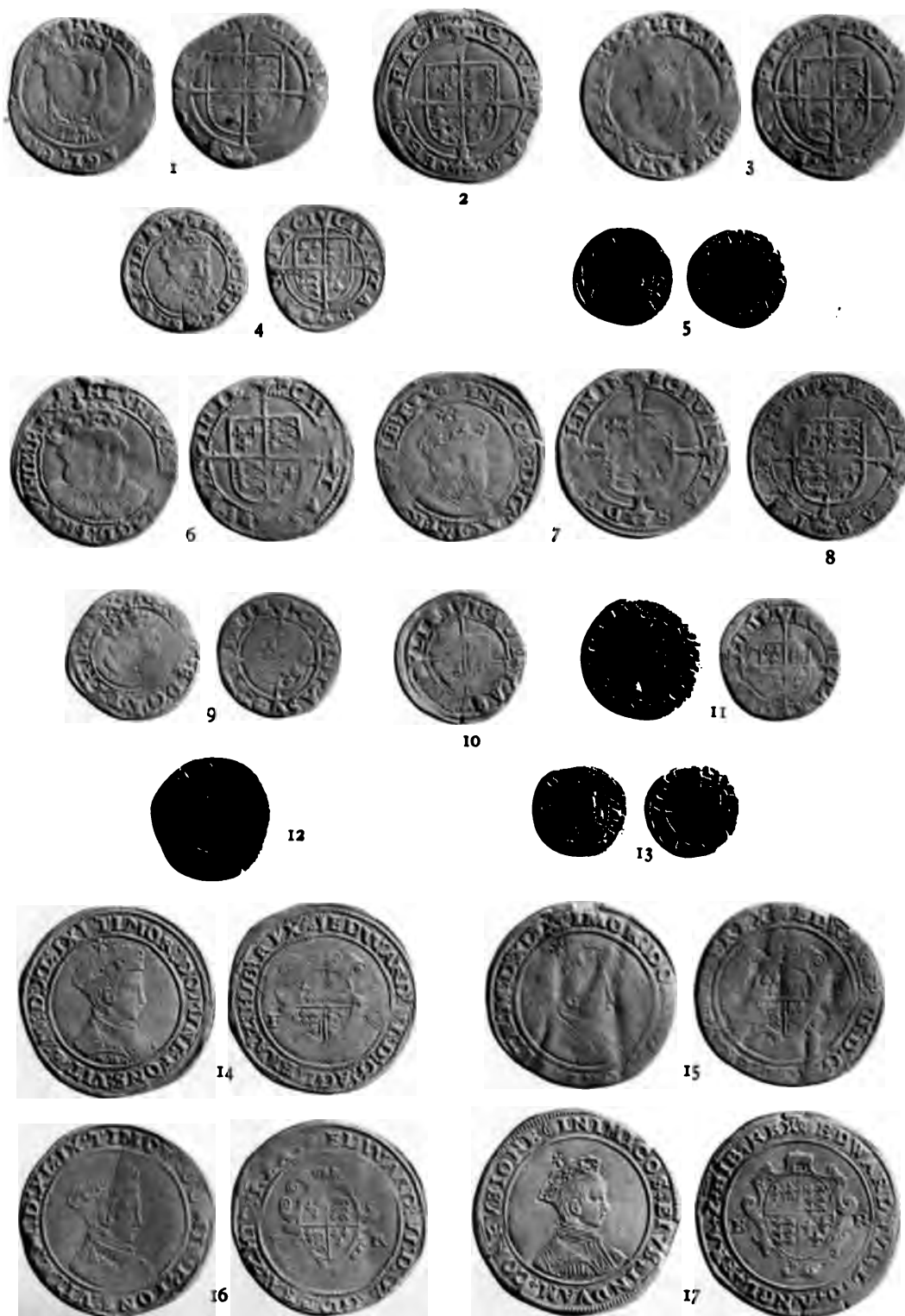
With lozenge stops, portrait No. 5, **SPIN** **ƿ** ;

With pellet stops, portrait No. 1, **SP** **l** or **SP** **l**.

#### HALF-PENNIES.

There is one with mascle stops, portrait No. 1, **SP**., the O in the reverse legend is Lombardic.





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**BASE COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.**  
Issues with his father's name and portrait, and early shillings.

**PLATE III.**

## YORK.

The mint, like that at the Tower, worked throughout the reign, and therefore all the varieties are found. Referring back to the martlet mint-mark, there is a groat, with half roses in the forks, that has the reverse legend in Lombardic characters, and there is one of York which, I consider, corresponds with that, or is even later, but the only legend on the obverse is in this character, the reverse having Roman lettering. This coin is the only one of the mint that has a mint-mark which looks like a boar's head. The earliest, I consider, have trefoil stops, with nothing in the forks, then come those with mascle or lozenge stops and crescents in the forks ; next, those with half roses in the forks, with first lozenge, and secondly pellet stops, and, finally, the groat with Lombardic lettering on the obverse, which I attribute to the year 1551, which marks the introduction of the fine silver coinage with this style of lettering.

The obverse of the coins is similar to that found at London and Canterbury, but they have on the reverse CIVITAS EBORACI.

## GROATS.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, with rose on breast, or portrait No. 2 ; trefoil stops ; nothing in the forks of the cross on the reverse. One with the portrait No. 2 has a reversed D for a C in the legend. (Pl. III, No. 1.)

No mint-mark, portraits No. 1 or No. 3 ; lozenge, mascle and incurved mascle stops ; crescents in the forks of the cross. (Pl. III, No. 2.)

No mint-mark, portraits No. 1, No. 3 or No. 5 ; lozenge stops ; half roses in the forks of the cross. This is the only instance I have come across of portrait No. 3 being found with the half rose in the forks. This coin is probably a mule.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 5, pellet stops, half roses in the forks of the cross.

Mint-mark, boar's head (?), portrait No. 5, Lombardic lettering on the obverse ; lozenge stops, half roses in the forks of the cross. This I consider to have been struck after the introduction of the fine

silver coinage and before the striking of base silver money at York was stopped in 1552. (Pl. III, Fig. 3.)

#### HALF-GROATS.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, trefoil stops, reversed D for C ; reverse legend in Lombardic letters, with lozenge or mascle stops.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1 or No. 5, legend wholly in Roman lettering. (Pl. III, No. 4.) A specimen with portrait No. 1 has the abbreviations A and F, and therefore is probably the latest issued. Another, also with portrait No. 1, has pellet stops.

#### PENNIES.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, trefoil stops.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1 or No. 5, lozenge stops. (Pl. III, No. 5.)

#### HALF-PENNY.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 1, lozenge or mascle stops.

#### DUBLIN.

The coins issued at this mint correspond so closely with those of the country mints of England, the only difference being that the reverse reads CIVITAS DVBLINIE, that I venture to describe them, so as to show their intimate relation with those of England, and incidentally to assist in dating the various varieties. At the end of Henry VIII's reign, and the beginning of that of Edward VI, the coins for Ireland were struck at Bristol, by Sir William Sharrington, and were the same as those issued for use in England, with this difference, that the English groat was current in Ireland for sixpence Irish, and the smaller denominations in proportion, that is to say, the half-groat for threepence, the penny for three-halfpence, and the half-penny for three-farthings.

On February 10th, 1548-9, an indenture was made with Thomas Agard, Under-Treasurer ; Martin Pirry, Comptroller, and William Williams, Assayer of the Mint at Dublin, for the coinage of four moneys of silver, namely, groats, half-groats, pennies and half-

pence. Things did not go well, however, and some time in 1549 the mint was closed. In June, 1550, the Privy Council decided to re-open it, and Martin Pirry was appointed Under-Treasurer. He, like Agard, was unsuccessful, and it was closed again in July, 1551.

The mint-marks are the boar's head, harp, and P, on the reverse only. The boar's head evidently belongs to Agard, as his crest was a boar's head, and P must belong to Pirry on the same grounds that the coins bearing the mint-marks TC and Y are attributed to Thomas Chamberlain and Sir John Yorke respectively. The harp might belong to either, but Mr. Symonds assigns it to Pirry. The fineness of the silver coined during both these periods was the same as that in England, that is to say, 4 oz.

#### GROATS.

Mint-mark boar's head, portrait No. 1 or No. 5, lozenge stops, half roses in the forks of the cross. (Pl. III, No. 6.)

Mint-mark harp, otherwise similar. (Pl. III, No. 7.)

Same with mint-mark P, otherwise similar, but with portrait No. 5 only. (Pl. III, No. 8.)

#### HALF-GROATS.

Mint-mark boar's head on reverse only, portrait No. 1, lozenge stops. (Pl. III, No. 9.)

Mint-mark harp on reverse only, portrait No. 1 or No. 5. (Pl. III, Nos. 10, 11.)

Mint-mark P on reverse only, portrait No. 5. (Pl. III, No. 12.)

#### PENNY.

No mint-mark, portrait No. 5, lozenge stops. (Pl. III, No. 13.)

#### HALF-PENNY.

No mint-mark. (*Handbook to the Coins of Great Britain and Ireland.* No. 56, p. 229.)

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## PART II.

BASE SILVER COINS BEARING THE NAME AND PORTRAIT  
OF EDWARD VI.

Immediately after the King's accession, the authorities appear to have considered designs for a new coinage, and various patterns for shillings were struck. These have on the obverse the bust of the king, in profile, to the right, crowned and wearing an ornamented robe, all within an inner circle, and D.G. is omitted from the legend. On the reverse, the cross, which for so many centuries had been so conspicuous, disappears; the arms are borne on an oval, garnished shield between the letters E.R., and there is an inner circle. The date appears for the first time on an English coin; Henry VIII had, indeed, put it on some of the groats, coined at Tournay in 1513, which were intended for use in France. The stops on both sides are usually small crosses, which, when not very distinct, look much like lozenges, with slightly incurved sides.

The following are the principal varieties of the shilling which are known up to the present time:—

1547. Mint-mark rose, on both sides; obverse: EDWARD<sup>9</sup> VI \* REX \* ANGL \* FRANC \* HIBER<sup>9</sup> Z C<sup>o</sup>; reverse: TIMOR \* DOMINI \* FONS \* VITÆ \* M \* D \* °XLVII (Murdoch sale, first portion, lot 534, Plate VIII); weight 88 grains. Similar—slight differences in the stops being probably due to oversight on the part of the artist who engraved the plate—(Ruding, Plate IX, 7). Ruding gives the weight of this piece as 20 dwt. 3 grains, and both he and Martin Folkes describe it as a ten shillings piece, but it should probably be considered a piedfort. It is stated, in Ruding's text, to have the letter B on the garniture at the top of the shield, and is therefore asserted, in a footnote, to have been coined by Sir Martin Bowes at Durham House, but, judging from the plate, the B is not at all convincing. Similar, but stated to differ somewhat in the details of the drawing of the shield (Murdoch sale, first portion, lot 535), weight 40 grains.

Mint-mark rose, on both sides ; obverse: TIMOR \* DOMINI \* FONS \* VITE \* M \* D \* XL7\* ; reverse: EDWARD<sup>9</sup> VI \* REX \* AGL \* FRA \* HIB \* &c\*. (Ruding, Plate IX, 6.) From its weight, 45½ grains, Folkes (*Table of English Coins*, p. 28) was of opinion that it must be 10 oz. fine. The transposition of the obverse and reverse legends is also found on some shillings issued for circulation.

1548. Mint-mark bow, on both sides ; EDWARDVS + VI + REX + ANGLI + FRANC + HIBERNIÆ ; reverse dated M.D.XLVIII ; weight 65½ grains. Murdoch sale, part I, lot 536, where the stops are described as stars of four points, but they are probably incurved mascles.

1549. As the shilling of 1548, but HIBERNI. M.D.XLVIII, Hawkins, p. 291, where neither the form of the stops nor the weight is given.

In January, 1548-9, the design for a shilling having been decided on, indentures were entered into with the sub-treasurers of the mints at the Tower, Southwark, Durham House, Bristol and Canterbury, for the coinage of shillings of 8 oz. fine at 98 to the pound, or 60 grains each. Sixpences were also authorized, but none is known. This issue lasted but a few months, being superseded by other orders in April, 1549.

There are not many varieties, and the whole group may be taken together. Those known to me have the following mint-marks :—

Arrow on both sides (Pl. III, No. 14), or on reverse only (Pl. III, No. 15), which shows that they were coined at the Tower.

Y on both sides, which belongs to Southwark.

T C in monogram, on obverse, and Arrow, on reverse (Murdoch sale, first portion, lot 491), which evidently belongs to Bristol.

Rose on reverse (Pl. III, No. 16).

No mint-mark. The two last I am unable to assign to any particular mint.

These coins are similar to the patterns, except that they read EDWARD VI : D'G' · AGL' · FRA' · Z : HIB' · REX and have two stops instead of one between the words and letters on the side bearing the motto. All are dated M : D : XLIX, and all, with the exception



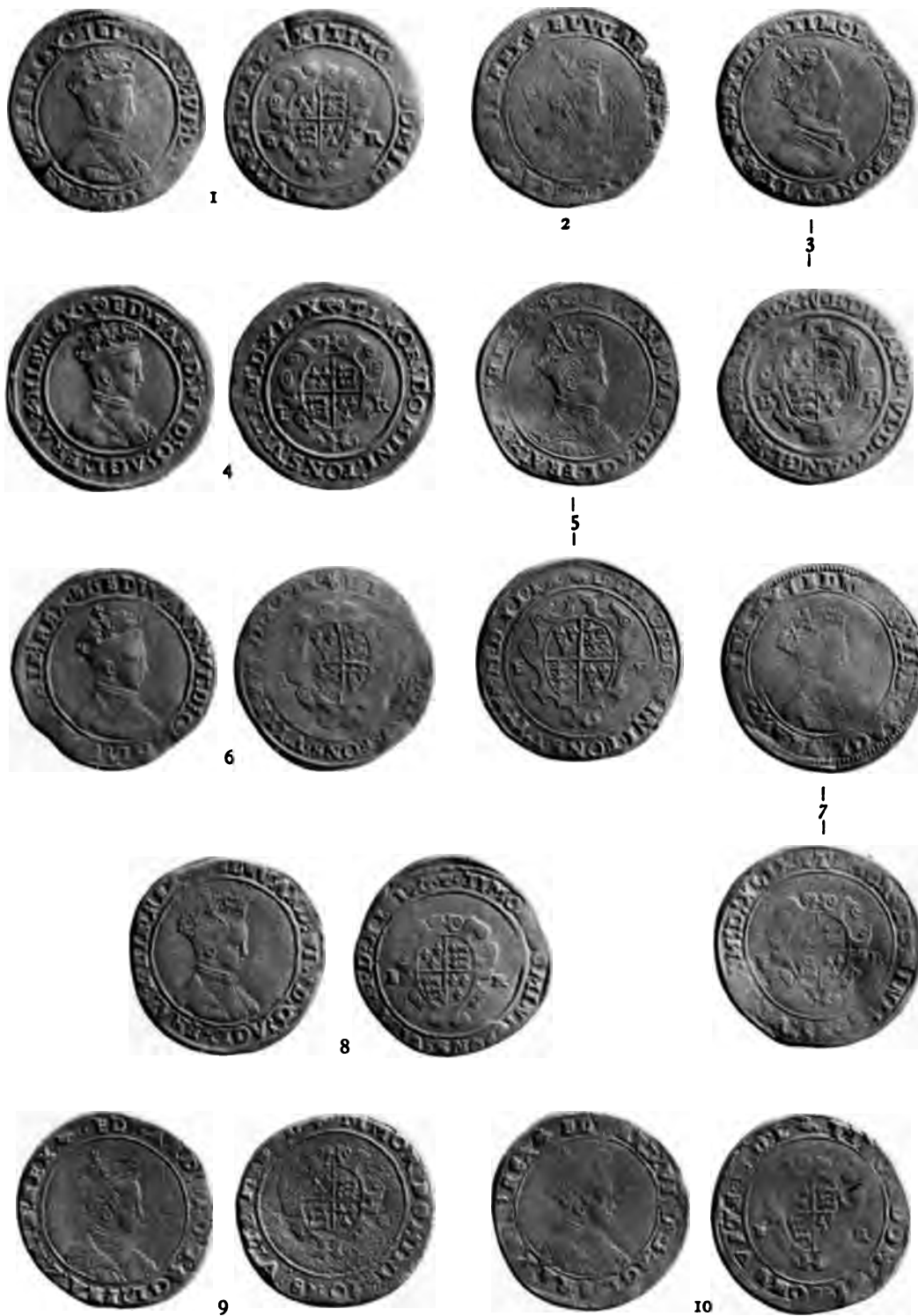
of that with no mint-mark, read VITÆ. The legends on all are transposed. The bust on the coin with the arrow on the reverse shows a variation in the royal clothing, the collar of the King's robe being like that on a modern court suit, whereas on the others it is a turned down one. (Pl. III, Fig. 15.) All have lozenge stops. The last of all has mint-mark bow both sides, and E for Z in the obverse legend, but the reverse legend is INIMICOS · EIVS · INDVAM · CONFVSIONE, without a date. The legends are transposed, and the stops are incurved lozenges (Pl. III, Fig. 17). These coins are attributed to Durham House. I have not yet met any that can be attributed to Canterbury, although, according to the mint accounts, testoons of fine silver were converted into the 8 oz. standard to the amount of 1540 lbs. troy, there (Mr. H. Symonds). Coins of this issue can be distinguished from those of the next by their appearance of being of better silver, by the bust, which is larger, except on that with the mint-mark bow, and by their weight, which varies from 50 to 58 grains, the average being about 54.

This was the first occasion on which a coin of twelve pence was officially termed a shilling ; it had hitherto been called a testoon.

The weight of the testoon had been 120 grains, and the introduction of the shilling of the same nominal value, but only weighing 60 grains, that is to say the weight of six pennies, naturally led to much comment, not all of which was favourable. Bishop Latimer, in a sermon preached before the King on the 8th March, 1548-9, referred to them as follows : " We have now a pretty little shilling, indeed a very pretty one. I have but one, I think in my purse, and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat, and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see ; but therein is printed a fine sentence, *Timor Domini fons vitæ vel sapientiae*. The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life or wisdom. I would God this sentence were always printed in the heart of the King ! " This sermon caused the worthy prelate a great deal of trouble, as his enemies, on the strength of it, accused him of preaching sedition (Folkes, *Table of English Coins*, p. 30).

These coins were apparently not satisfactory, for on the 12th





BASE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI.

April, 1549, new indentures were entered into, with the same undertreasurers, for the issue of Shillings only, of 6 oz. fine, weighing 72 to the pound or 80 grains each.

With the exception of those with the mint-mark bow, which have the INIMICOS legend, are undated and show incurved lozenge stops, or in some cases saltires, on the reverse, they have the TIMOR legend, but with VITE instead of VITÆ; are dated, and have lozenge stops. The bust of the King is slighter, and the weight varies from about 62 to 80 grains. Otherwise they are similar to the 60 grain coins.

1549. The mint-marks attributed to the Tower for this year are the arrow (Pl. IV, No. 1) and the swan. The former appears also in the shape of a pheon (Pl. IV, No. 2), which I think must have happened at the end of the year. Of mules there are: obverse arrow, reverse, swan; obverse pheon, reverse arrow.

Southwark has one mint-mark Y.

Durham House has one mint-mark bow, and the undated coins with the INIMICOS legend, referred to above, belong to this year. Some have the legends transposed, but are the only shillings of the 80 grain issue on which this occurs, with the exception of the following:—

Mint-mark bow, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ, the legends are transposed; the obverse has incurved lozenge stops; the reverse shows a peculiar E, like E T in monogram, and E instead of Z; the stops look like saltires. The bust differs in having a stand-up collar. (Pl. IV, Fig. 3.) This shilling is very rare, and is in the collection of Mr. H. A. Parsons.

Mint-mark grapple (Pl. IV, Fig. 4); this is exactly similar to those issued at the Tower and, if it was issued at Durham House, I think it must have been struck just before the mint was closed, in November, 1549, after which date the dies were used elsewhere, probably at the Tower.

Bristol: mint-mark T C in monogram, with a rose to the left; on the reverse a rose each side of the date. (Pl. IV, No. 5.) There is also a shilling, presumably of this mint, with an altered mint-mark,



which looks like T G' in monogram : this has two reverses, one from a Bristol die with the T C mint-mark (Pl. IV, No. 6), and the other of ordinary type with an undecipherable mint-mark (Messrs. Spink & Son).

Canterbury : mint-mark T (Pl. IV, No. 7). The writer had already assigned this mark to Canterbury when proof of the correctness of his theory was furnished by the discovery of the half-groat, bearing the same letter, which is described and reproduced on page 152. (Fig. 1.) It is probable that, like Y and T C, which are found at Southwark and Bristol respectively, the letter is the initial of the under-treasurer in charge of the mint, namely William Tilleswood. In the British Museum there is a specimen on the reverse of which the T takes the form of the Greek  $\tau$ , but the mint-mark on the obverse is unfortunately undecipherable. (Pl. IV, No. 8.) The bust on these coins appears to be somewhat slighter than on the others. According to the mint accounts, 12,035 lbs. troy were used of the 6 oz. standard, and other testoons were converted into the 6 oz. standard to the amount of 8515 lbs. troy here before the mint was closed in February, 1549-50. (Mr. H. Symonds.) There is nothing, except the mint-mark, to distinguish the Canterbury issues from those of the Tower or Southwark.

The discovery that shillings were coined at Canterbury is due to Mr. H. Symonds, who found, in the Record Office, the accounts of the Mint, in which the number of shillings coined is stated.

1550. At the Tower, the mint-marks arrow and pheon are superseded by the martlet looking to the left (Pl. IV, No. 9), and the swan is continued (Pl. IV, No. 10). Of this latter there are mules : one has, on the obverse, the mint-mark pheon, which must have been from a die of the previous year ; another, with the reverse mint-mark Y, was probably struck towards the end of the year, after the Southwark mint had been closed, and Sir John Yorke had moved to the Tower. At Southwark, the mint-mark Y was continued. (Pl. V, No. 1.)

During the latter part of the year, about January, 1550-1, a commission was issued reducing the standard of silver from 6 oz. to







1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15

BASE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI.

3 oz. fine, and a new set of mint-marks was introduced. The Tower was the only mint, then working, which was empowered to coin shillings. These were to all appearances the same as those of the previous issues, and were of the same weight. The mint-marks were the rose, lis and lion (Pl. V, No. 2). Not many could have been coined, as they are all scarce. With the mint-mark rose, there was one in the Murdoch collection (lot 496), with the lis there is a mule, in the British Museum, with reverse mint-mark Y. The lion depicted in the mark is a peculiar beast, as it has no fore legs, and looks, Sir John Evans remarks, as if the same iron had been used for both the mark and the lion in the shield. I am unable to explain why these three mint-marks should have been used, when only two were necessary.

1551. The same mint-marks were continued, namely the rose (Pl. V, No. 3), lis (Pl. V, No. 4), and lion. There are also the following mules : obverse lion, reverse rose ; and obverse Y, probably the die belonging to the previous year, with reverse lis.

1552. In the British Museum there is a shilling with obverse Y, reverse rose, with the reading FRAN. It is impossible to account for this, as the coining of base shillings had been stopped in 1551, and fine silver ones issued instead. In Dublin, however, a coin the same size and weight, with the mint-mark harp was issued, but was struck, as Mr. H. Symonds has discovered, to be current for sixpence only. The lettering on this is Lombardic. (Pl. V, No. 13.)

Notwithstanding the baseness of these shillings many counterfeits appeared, which were made of copper or brass, probably washed with silver, but now all the washing has disappeared from those that are known. This counterfeiting was referred to in a Proclamation dated 30th April, 1551. (Ruding, p. 319.)

In addition to shillings, coins of the smaller denominations were struck with the portrait and name of Edward VI. As regards these no indenture or commission seems to have been drawn up, but dies were issued for use to all the mints but York, presumably under the old indentures, and appear to have been used indiscriminately with



those of Henry VIII. They are all of poor work and bad execution. The halfpennies are extremely rare.

#### TOWER.

##### GROATS.

These have the mint-mark arrow on both sides ; on the obverse, the bust of the King to the right is similar to that on the shillings, but larger, the top of the crown corresponding with the inner circle, and the orb and cross extending to the outer edge of the coin. Legend EDWARD' 6' . D' . G' . AGL' . FRA' . Z' HI' REX'—stops, mascles, lozenges or saltires (Pl. V, No. 5) ; reverse shield of arms on a cross fleury, the extremities of which extend through the inner circle to the outer edge of the coin ; the ends of the cross are similar to those of the Durham House coin, with mint-mark bow, with crescents in the forks ; legend POSVI DEV' . ADIVTORE' . MEV' . stops, lozenges. The lettering on both sides is Roman. (Pl. V, No. 6.)

##### HALF-GROATS.

Mint-mark arrow, on both sides ; similar to the groats, but smaller ; stops, lozenges ; nothing in the forks of the cross. Hawkins, 414. Ruding, ix, 2. (Pl. V, No. 7.)

A half-groat in the British Museum has the mint-mark arrow on both sides, but the reverse legend CIVITAS LONDON. (Pl. V, No. 8.) From the reverse it should belong to Southwark, and I am unable to account for this legend appearing on a coin which has always been attributed to the Tower.

##### PENNY.

These are similar to half-groats, but smaller. Obverse legend E . D . G . ROSA : SIN' or SINE : SPI . ; mascle stops ; reverse, CIVITAS LONDON. Mint-mark Arrow on both sides (Snelling, iv, 7) (Pl. V, No. 9), or no mint-mark (Ruding, ix, 5). This latter coin may have been struck in Southwark.

HALF-PENNY.

This is similar to the penny, but has the cross with the three pellets in the angles SPINA—stops unknown. No mint-mark—Montagu sale, part II, lot 835. This, like the penny, may also have been coined at Southwark.

SOUTHWARK.

GROATS.

The Groats are similar to those of the Tower, but have no mint-mark on the obverse. Like the groats with the fifth portrait of Henry VIII, they have a stop instead. The legend reads AG' . FR' . HIB' . and the stops are lozenges. On the reverse the legend is CIVITAS LONDON, with lozenge or mascle stops. There are the same variations of the ends of the cross as on the Henry VIII groats of Durham House, mint-mark bow. Mint-mark E on reverse, with highly ornamented ends of the cross. (Pl. V, No. 10.) No mint-mark, with spiky ends of the cross.

HALF-GROATS.

The half-groat is similar to the groat, but reads HI . ; there is nothing in the forks. Mint-mark E on reverse; stops, lozenges. Montagu sale, part II, lot 829, also Hawkins, 416.

PENNY.

This is similar to the Tower penny—mint-mark E on reverse.

HALF-PENNY.

*Nil.*

BRISTOL.

Of this mint only pennies and halfpennies are known with the name and portrait of Edward VI. They are similar to those coined at the Tower, but like all other Bristol coins, they have quatrefoils

or roses in the legends, which are in a very ornate Lombardic lettering peculiar to the Bristol mint. The reverse legend is **CIVITAS BRISTOLIE** and there are trefoils in the forks of the cross.

#### PENNY.

The pennies are similar to those of the Tower, with the variations mentioned above. Mint-mark trefoil, on both sides, but on the reverse it comes after **CIVITAS**. On the obverse quatrefoil after **ROSA**: and **SIN**; **SPIN**; stops, pellets on obverse, saltires on reverse: there is a trefoil in each fork. One in the Murdoch collection, lot 506, Pl. VII, reads: **ED. 6. D. G. ROSA \* SIN \* SPIN**; reverse, **CIVI TAS** (slipped trefoil) **\*BRIS TOLIE**. (Pl. V, No. 11.)

#### HALF-PENNY.

The obverse is similar to that of the penny, but without a quatrefoil after **ROSA**; the stops are pellets, but there are saltires after the three last words. The reverse has a cross fourchée, with three pellets in the angles, within the inner circle; legend as on the penny. No trefoil after **CIVITAS**, but in the forks of the cross. No mint-mark—Montagu sale, part II, lot 834, Pl. VII.

#### CANTERBURY.

Only half-groats are known of this mint. These are similar to those of the Tower, but read **EDWARD** or **EDOARD AGL. FRA HI**; stops, mascles. On the reverse, **CIVITAS, CANTOR, CANTON** or **CASTOR**. No mint-mark. (Pl. V, No. 12.)

#### YORK.

No base coins bearing the name and portrait of Edward VI were coined at York.

#### DUBLIN.

In 1552 the mint was for a third time reopened, and instructions were issued to the mint authorities in Dublin, to strike a coin similar

to the base shillings lately coined at the Tower, but to be current only for sixpence (English). These are similar to the Tower coins, but the legend is in Lombardic lettering—mint-mark harp, with the date 1552; **RRTR**. (Pl. V, No. 13.)

Presumably to prepare for the introduction of a fine silver coinage, this base money underwent a series of reductions in value. In the Proclamation of the 30th April, 1551, already mentioned, the value of the shilling was reduced to ninepence, and that of the groat to threepence. The change was carried out in the following June, and, from the King's journal, it appears that a month later a further reduction ensued, viz.: from ninepence to sixpence, and the smaller denominations in proportion. (Ruding, p. 321.)

This accounts for those shillings struck in Dublin, with the mint-mark harp, dated 1552, being issued as sixpences only.

Finally, by proclamation on 27th September, 1561, the third year of Elizabeth, the 6 oz. fine shillings were decreed to fourpence halfpenny, and ordered to be countermarked with a portcullis in front of the King's face (Pl. V, No. 14), while those with the mint-marks rose, lion, lis and harp, were further lowered to twopence farthing, and countermarked with a greyhound on the King's shoulder. (Ruding, p. 333.) (Pl. V, No. 15.)

### PART III.

#### THE FINE SILVER COINAGE.

In 1551 Edward at last issued money of fine silver, of the standard of 11 oz. 1 dwt., but this was still 1 dwt. short of that of the sterling, and he could not altogether get away from the base money, as pennies, half-pennies and farthings were ordered to be coined of the old standard of 4 oz. fine.

The coins consist of the crown, half-crown, shilling, sixpence, threepence and penny in fine, and penny, half-penny and farthing in base silver.

The dates, 1551, 1552 and 1553 appear only on the crown and half-crown, under the horse on the obverse.

These fine silver coins bear, on those coined in 1551, either the mint-mark tun or  $\mathfrak{t}$ . The former is generally considered to be a pun on the name of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who was one of the under-treasurers; the latter is the well-known mark of Sir John Yorke, the other under-treasurer. At the end of this year great irregularities were discovered to have taken place, and both these under-treasurers were dismissed in consequence. The second Tower mint was then closed (March, 1551-2), thus leaving one working. For the years 1552 and 1553, there is only one mint-mark, namely, the tun. Thomas Egerton was the new under-treasurer, and may have carried on the tun for the same reason as that of his predecessor, that is as a pun on his name. A different mint-mark, the Escallop, was selected for the small base silver money.

Many dies were used, and they vary on the obverse in the abbreviation of the King's Titles, and on the reverse in the number of the pellets near the mint-mark. The mint-mark tun is always followed by a stop of some kind, usually a colon. The  $\mathfrak{y}$ , on the reverse, is always at the end, instead of at the beginning, of the legend, where its place is occupied by a colon. On one sixpence it is omitted on the reverse. The lettering of the legend on the silver reverts to the old English or Lombardic character, while that on the base coins is in Roman letters. The stops are lozenges, but often they are so badly formed that they look like pellets.

#### CROWNS.

Obverse: The King in armour, crowned, holding his sword in his right hand, riding a horse gaily caparisoned, cantering to the right: date below; all within an inner circle; legend **EDWARD :**  
**VI : D' : G' : REX :** Mint-mark tun, date 1551.

Those with mint-mark tun of 1552 and 1553 have the same readings, with the variations **FR** and **RIB**. (Pl. VI, No. 2.)

Those with mint-mark  $\mathfrak{y}$ , 1551, have the variations of **FR** or **FR**, **RIB**, **RIB** or **RIB**. (Pl. VI, No. 1.)

Reverse: The Shield of arms, on a cross fourchée, the ends of





FINE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI.

which extend beyond the inner circle. Legend: **POSVI DEVM** or **DEV' PDIVTORE' MEVM** or **MEV'**.

#### HALF-CROWNS.

Obverse: Similar to that of the crowns, but on that with the mint-mark **y** the horse is walking, and has a plume on its head; on that with mint-mark **tun**, 1553, it is walking, but is without a plume. The legends vary as follows:

Tun, 1551: **AGL', FRAT', RIB'** or **RIBG'**.

Tun, 1552: **AGL', FRAT', RIB'**. (Pl. VI, No. 3.)

Tun, 1553: **AGL', FRAT', RIB'**. (Pl. VI, No. 4.)

**y**, 1551: **AGL'** or **AGLIG'**, **FRAT'** or **FRATR', RIB'** or **RIBG'**. (Pl. VI, No. 5.)

The reverse is similar to that of the crowns.

#### SHILLINGS.

Obverse: The King is represented full faced, crowned, wearing the royal robe and the collar of the Garter; the figure XII, for the value, is to the left and the rose to the right of the face; all within an inner circle; mint-marks **tun** and **y**; legend: **EDWARD' VI' . D' . G' . AGL' . FRAT' . Z RIB' REX**. One with mint-mark **tun** reads **EDWARD'**.

Reverse: Similar to the crowns and half-crowns. The cross sometimes cuts the word **PDIVTORE'** between the **π** and **D**, sometimes after the **D**. (Pl. VI, Nos. 6 and 7.)

The size of the lettering varies, being larger and coarser on some specimens.

Some shillings are found countermarked with a portcullis in front of the face. This must have been done in error, as the standard of the silver was too high for this countermark.

#### SIXPENCE.

The obverse is similar to that of the shilling, with the exception of **VI** for the mark of value.

The reverse is similar to that of the shilling, but the legend varies more. Those with mint-mark **tun** read **DEV'** and **MEV'**. (Pl.



VII, No. 1), and those with mint-mark **ʏ**, **DEVN** or **DEV'** and **ME • MEV'** or **MEVN**. (Pl. VII, No. 2.) The sizes of the lions and of the lettering vary.

One coin with mint-mark **ʏ**, as before stated, has no mint-mark on the reverse.

#### THREEPENCE.

The obverse is similar to the shilling, except for III, the mark of value, and sometimes the collar is omitted. On some the legend reads **KG' RR'**.

The reverse is similar to that of the shilling and reads always **DEV'** and **MEV'**. The mint-mark on both sides is the tun. (Pl. VII, No. 3.)

The striking of these coins appears to have commenced in 1552, as they were first mentioned in the indentures of that year (Hawkins, p. 294). This will account for the mint-mark **ʏ** being missing.

#### PENCE.

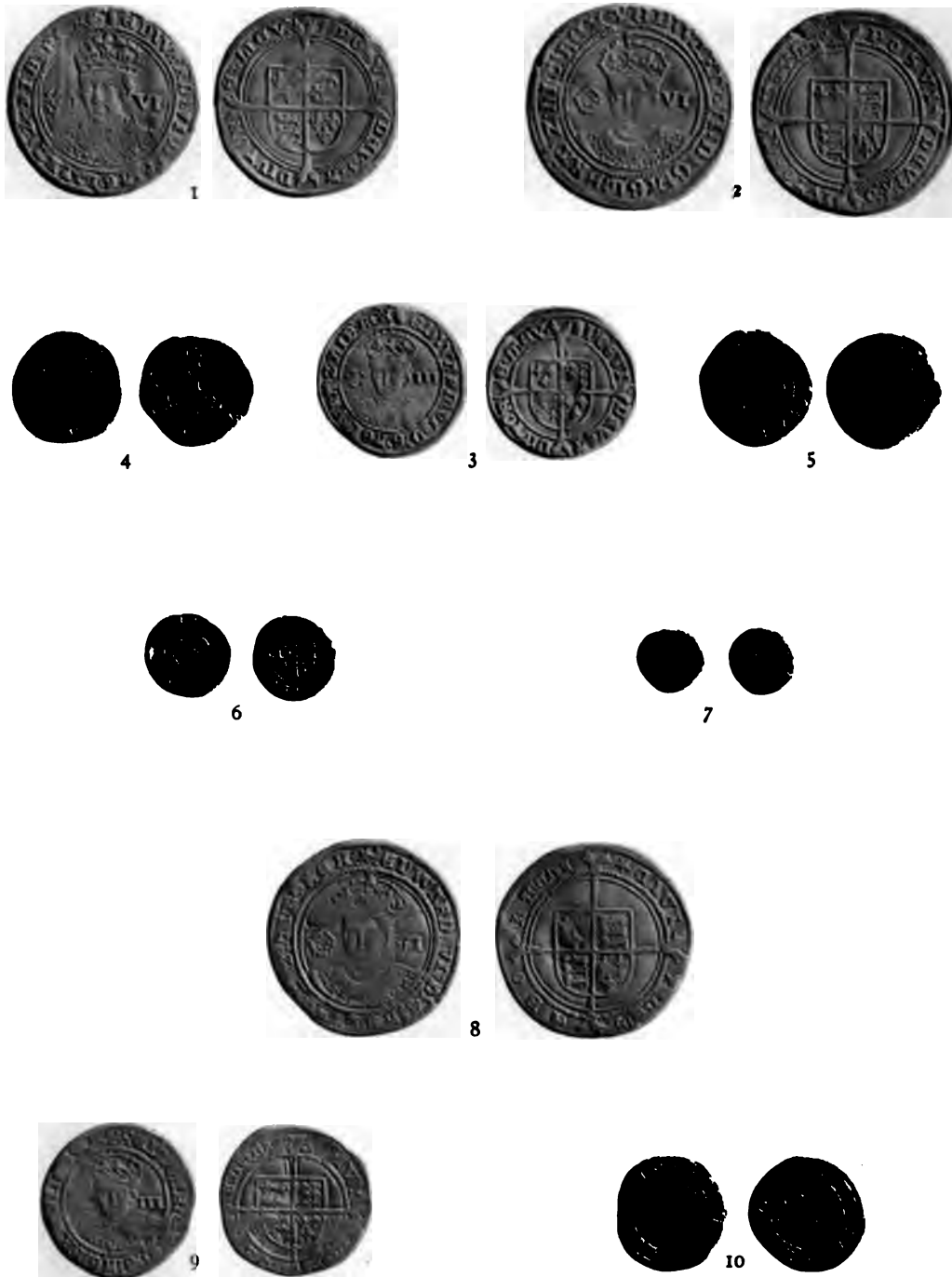
There are two varieties of the penny, one being of fine silver and the other of base.

The fine penny is similar to that of the second issue of Henry VIII, that is to say, is of the Sovereign type. It differs only in having **æ** substituted for **Æ** in the obverse legend, and in having the mint-mark tun. On the obverse the King is represented seated upon his throne crowned, and holding sceptre and orb, the head and crown cutting through the inner circle to the edge of the coin; legend: **Æ. D. G. ROST. SING. SPI'** or **SPIT**; stops, saltires.

Reverse: shield of arms on a cross fourchée, the forks of which cut through the inner circles to the edge of the coin; legend: **QVINTVS LONDON**. (Pl. VII, No. 4.)

The question arises, why were these fine pennies struck, for they were not mentioned in the indentures? Several of these coins are known, and they were not all struck from the same die, as there were two varieties in the Montagu collection. The only answer that comes to my mind is that perhaps they were patterns.

1



FINE COINAGE OF EDWARD VI.

There is a pattern shilling of fine silver (Hawkins, No. 419, Pl. XXXII), which is stated to be of extreme rarity. On the obverse the King is represented on horseback, galloping, armed, and in a menacing attitude, within a beaded inner circle. The mint-mark is an ostrich head on both sides, and the legend, in Lombardic characters, is: **EDWARD' · VI · D · G · REX · FRAT · ZRIB · REX.** Three crosses to right of mint-mark and one to the left. Reverse: a square shield surmounted by a crown, **E · R**, at the sides, within an inner circle. Legend: **TIMOR · DOMINI · FORS · VITE · M · D · L · I · \***. Stops, mixed crosses and saltires.

The base coins of this coinage are, as before mentioned, the penny, half-penny and farthing.

Penny: The obverse has a double rose within an inner circle; legend, in Roman characters; **E' D' G' · ROSA · SINE · SPINA.** The reverse has a square shield on a cross fourchée, the arms of which cut the inner circle to the outer edge, and the forks are plain; **CIVITAS LONDON**; stops, lozenges. (Pl. VII, No. 5); mint-mark, escallop, on the obverse only.

The half-penny is very similar to the penny, except that the Rose is single, and the obverse legend ends **SPI**; stops, lozenges; mint-mark Escallop on the obverse only. (Hawkins 427.) (Pl. VII, No. 6.) This coin is very rare, only three specimens being known. There was one in the Montagu collection, lot 855.

The farthing has on the obverse a portcullis, within an inner circle; legend in Roman letters: **E · D · G · ROSA · SPINE · SPI ·**; reverse: cross and pellets, legend **CIVITAS LONDON**; stops indistinct, no mint-mark. (Hawkins, No. 428.) (Pl. VII, No. 7.)

#### YORK.

The known coins of York are the sixpence and threepence in fine, and the penny in base silver. These must have been struck in 1552 and 1553, for in the former year orders were sent to the mint at York to cease coining base money. The Tower penny being of base silver, it naturally follows that the York penny would be struck in metal of the same standard.

The sixpence and threepence are similar to those coined at the Tower, but the legend on the reverse is **CIVITAS EBORACI**; mint-mark a pierced mullet on both sides. (Pl. VII, Nos. 8 and 9.)

The penny which has the mint-mark, a pierced mullet, on the obverse only, is similar to that of the Tower, with the exception of the legend on the reverse, which is **CIVITAS EBORACI**. (Pl. VII, No. 10.)

REFERENCES IN TABLES.

×, in Author's Collection. B.M., British Museum. C.B., Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton's Collection. Hks., Hawkins' *Silver Coins of England*. Mo., Montagu Collection. Mu., Murdoch Collection. P., Mr. H. A. Parsons's Collection. Rud., Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage*. Sn., Snelling on Coins. Si., Simons' Essay on Irish Coins. Plate V, 100.

*Table I.*

Metropolitan mints, with the portrait and name of Henry VIII.

*Table II.*

Country mints, with the portrait and name of Henry VIII, and earliest shillings with portrait and name of Edward VI.

*Table III.*

Base issue, with the portrait and name of Edward VI.

*Table IV.*

Fine silver issue.

*Table V.*

Sequence of mint-marks.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES.

*Plate I.*

1. Groat, portrait No. 1, mint-mark lis, obverse and reverse.
2. Groat, portrait No. 2, mint-mark lis, obverse.
3. Groat, portrait No. 3, mint-mark lis, obverse and reverse.
4. Groat, portrait No. 4, mint-mark lis, obverse.
5. Groat, portrait No. 5, mint-mark grapple, obverse and reverse.
6. Groat, portrait No. 1, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
7. Groat, portrait No. 3, mint-mark arrow, obverse.
8. Groat, portrait No. 1, mint-mark K, obverse.
9. Groat, portrait No. 1, mint-mark martlet, obverse and reverse.
10. Groat, portrait No. 5, mint-mark martlet, obverse and reverse, lozenge stops.
11. Groat, portrait No. 5, mint-mark martlet, obverse and reverse, pellet stops.
12. Groat, portrait No. 5, mint-mark martlet, obverse, saltire stops.
13. Half-Groat, portrait No. 1, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
14. Half-Groat, mint-mark K, reverse.
15. Penny, portrait No. 1, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
16. Penny, mint-mark K, reverse.
17. Penny, portrait No. 5, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
18. Half-penny, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), London, obverse and reverse.

*Plate II.*

1. Groat, Southwark, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), **G** and **S** in forks of cross, obverse and reverse.

2. Groat, Southwark, portrait No. 1, mint-mark E, obverse and reverse.
3. Groat, Southwark, portrait No. 5, mint-mark E, obverse mascle stops.
4. Groat, Southwark, portrait No. 5, mint-mark E, obverse and reverse pellet stops.
5. Half-Groat, Southwark, portrait No. 1, mint-mark E, obverse and reverse.
6. Groat, Durham House, portrait No. 5, mint-mark bow, obverse and reverse.
7. Groat, Durham House, portrait No. 5, mint-mark bow, reverse.
8. Half-Groat, Durham House, portrait No. 1, mint-mark bow, obverse and reverse.
9. Half-Groat, Durham House, portrait No. 1, mint-mark grapple, obverse and reverse.
10. Penny, Durham House, portrait No. 1, mint-mark grapple, obverse and reverse.
11. Groat, Bristol, mint-mark T.C. in monogram, obverse and reverse.
12. Half-Groat, Bristol, portrait No. 1, mint-mark T.C., obverse and reverse.
13. Penny, Bristol, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
14. Groat, Canterbury, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse, trefoil stops.
15. Groat, Canterbury, portrait No. 5, mint-mark lis, obverse and reverse.
16. Groat, Canterbury, portrait No. 5, mint-mark rose, obverse.
17. Half-Groat, Canterbury, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
18. Penny, Canterbury, portrait No. 1, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.

*Plate III.*

1. Groat, York, portrait No. 2, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse, trefoil stops.
2. Groat, York, mint-mark reverse.
3. Groat, York, portrait No. 5, mint-mark boar's head? obverse and reverse, Lombardic lettering.
4. Half-Groat, York, portrait No. 5, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
5. Penny, York, portrait No. 5, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
6. Groat, Dublin, portrait No. 1, mint-mark boar's head, obverse and reverse.
7. Groat, Dublin, portrait No. 5, mint-mark harp, obverse and reverse.
8. Groat, Dublin, portrait No. 5, mint-mark P, reverse.
9. Half-Groat, Dublin, mint-mark boar's head, reverse.
10. Half-Groat, Dublin, mint-mark harp, reverse.
11. Half-Groat, Dublin, portrait No. 5, mint-mark harp, obverse and reverse.
12. Half-Groat, Dublin, mint-mark P, reverse.
13. Penny, Dublin, portrait No. 5, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
14. Shilling, 8 oz., 1549, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
15. Shilling, 8 oz., 1549, mint-mark arrow, on reverse only, obverse and reverse.
16. Shilling, 8 oz., 1549, mint-mark rose, on reverse only, obverse and reverse.
17. Shilling, 8 oz., no date, mint-mark bow, obverse and reverse.

*Plate IV.*

1. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
2. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark pheon, obverse.
3. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark bow, obverse and reverse.

4. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark grapple, obverse and reverse.
5. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark T.C. in monogram, obverse and reverse.
6. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark T.C. in monogram, over ?, obverse and reverse.
7. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark t, obverse and reverse.
8. Shilling, 6 oz., 1549, mint-mark τ, obverse and reverse.
9. Shilling, 6 oz., 1550, mint-mark martlet, obverse and reverse.
10. Shilling, 6 oz., 1550, mint-mark swan, obverse and reverse.

*Plate V.*

1. Shilling, 6 oz., 1550, mint-mark Y, obverse and reverse.
2. Shilling, 3 oz., 1550, mint-mark lion, reverse.
3. Shilling, 3 oz., 1551, mint-mark rose, obverse.
4. Shilling, 3 oz., 1551, mint-mark lis.
5. Groat, 4 oz., mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
6. Groat, 4 oz., mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
7. Half-Groat, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
8. Half-Groat, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse, CIVITAS LONDON.
9. Penny, mint-mark arrow, obverse and reverse.
10. Groat, Southwark, mint-mark E, obverse and reverse.
11. Penny, Bristol, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
12. Half-Groat, Canterbury, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
13. Shilling (sixpence), Dublin, 1552, mint-mark harp, obverse and reverse.
14. Shilling, countermarked with portcullis, mint-mark bow, obverse.
15. Shilling, countermarked with greyhound, mint-mark rose, obverse.

*Plate VI.*

1. Crown, 1551, mint-mark **Y**, obverse and reverse.
2. Crown, 1553, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
3. Half-Crown, 1551, mint-mark **Y**, obverse and reverse.
4. Half-Crown, 1552, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
5. Half-Crown, 1553, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
6. Shilling, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
7. Shilling, mint-mark **Y**, obverse and reverse.

*Plate VII.*

1. Sixpence, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
2. Sixpence, mint-mark **Y**, obverse and reverse.
3. Three-pence, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
4. Penny, Sovereign Type, mint-mark tun, obverse and reverse.
5. Penny, Rose Type, mint-mark escallop, obverse and reverse.
6. Half-penny, Rose Type, mint-mark escallop, obverse and reverse.
7. Farthing, mint-mark (none), obverse and reverse.
8. Sixpence, York, mint-mark pierced mullet, obverse and reverse.
9. Three-pence, York, mint-mark pierced mullet, obverse and reverse.
10. Penny, Rose Type, York, mint-mark pierced mullet, obverse and reverse.



## COINS OF METROPOLITAN MINTS,

| Mint-mark.     | Date<br>(probable). | Mint.                       | In Forks of Reverse<br>of Groats only. | Stops.                              |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| <b>Lis</b>     | 1547                | Tower                       | Annulet and Pellet                     | obverse Mascle, reverse ?           |
| "              | 1547-8              | "                           | Half Rose                              | Lozenge                             |
| <b>Arrow</b>   | 1547-8              | "                           | Crescent                               | Lozenge, Mascle                     |
| "              | 1548-9              | "                           | Half Rose                              | Lozenge                             |
| <b>K</b>       | 1547-8              | "                           | Crescent                               | Lozenge, Mascle, incurved           |
| "              | 1548-9              | "                           | Half Rose                              | Lozenge                             |
| <b>Martlet</b> | 1550-1              | "                           | "                                      | "                                   |
| "              | "                   | "                           | "                                      | Pellet                              |
| "              | 1551                | "                           | "                                      | obverse Saltire, reverse<br>Pellet  |
| <b>(None)</b>  | 1547-8              | ?                           | Crescent                               | Lozenge, Mascle                     |
| "              | 1549                | "                           | "                                      | Pellet                              |
| "              | 1547                | Southwark                   | Ⓔ and Ⓔ                                | Trefoil                             |
| "              | 1547-8              | "                           | "                                      | Mascle, incurved                    |
| <b>E</b>       | 1547-8              | "                           | Crescent                               | Lozenge, Mascle, incurved           |
| "              | 1548-9              | "                           | Half Rose                              | Lozenge                             |
| "              | 1549                | "                           | "                                      | Pellet or Annulet                   |
| <b>Bow</b>     | 1548-9              | Durham House                | Curved with Spikes                     | obverse Lozenge, reverse<br>Saltire |
| "              | "                   | "                           | Crescent (2nd)                         | " "                                 |
| <b>(None)</b>  | "                   | "                           | "                                      | " "                                 |
| <b>Grapple</b> | 1549                | "                           | "                                      | " "                                 |
| "              | "                   | Durham House<br>and Tower ? | Half Rose                              | Pellet                              |

WITH PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII.

| Denomination and Portrait. |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------------|------|--------|------|-------------|------|--|
| Groat.                     |      |      |      |      | Half Groat. |      | Penny. |      | Half-penny. |      | Remarks.                                     |
| 1st.                       | 2nd. | 3rd. | 4th. | 5th. | 1st.        | 5th. | 1st.   | 5th. | 1st.        | 5th. |  |
|                            |      | x    |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      | A mule; the reverse has Lombardic lettering. |
| x                          |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             | Mo   |  |
| x                          |      | x    |      |      | x           |      | x      | Mu   |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      | x           |      | x      |      |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      | One has Lombardic lettering on the reverse.  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
| BM.                        |      |      |      |      |             |      | x      | x    | x           |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      | x      |      |             |      |  |
|                            | x    |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      | x           |      |        |      |             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    | BM.         |      | BM.    |      |             |      | Reversel egend REDDE, etc.                   |
|                            |      |      |      |      | Hks.        |      |        |      |             |      | " "  |
|                            |      |      |      |      | 410         |      |        |      |             |      | " "  |
|                            |      |      |      | Sn.  |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | III, |             |      |        |      |             |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | 45   |             |      |        |      |             |      | (obverse, mint-mark Bow).                    |
| x                          |      |      |      | x    | x           |      | x      |      |             |      |  |

## COINS OF COUNTRY MINTS,

| Mint-mark.          | Date<br>(probable). | Mint.      | In Forks of Reverse<br>of Groats only. | Stops.                    |
|---------------------|---------------------|------------|--|---------------------------|
| TC in mono-<br>gram | 1549                | Bristol    | Trefoils (on half<br>groats also)      | Pellets                   |
| (None)              | "                   | "          |  | Mascles                   |
| "                   | 1547-8              | Canterbury | (Nothing)                              | Trefoils                  |
| "                   | "                   | "          | Crescents                              | Lozenge, Mascle, incurved |
| "                   | 1548-9              | "          | Half Roses                             | Lozenge                   |
| "                   | "                   | "          | "                                      | (None)                    |
| "                   | 1549                | "          | "                                      | Pellet                    |
| t                   | 1549-50             | "          | (Nothing)                              | Mascle                    |
| Lis                 | 1549                | "          | Half Roses                             | Pellet                    |
| Rose                | "                   | "          | "                                      | "                         |
| (None)              | 1547-8              | York       | (Nothing)                              | Trefoils                  |
| "                   | "                   | "          | Crescents                              | Lozenge, Mascle, incurved |
| "                   | 1548-9              | "          | Half Roses                             | Lozenge                   |
| "                   | 1549-50             | "          | "                                      | Pellet                    |
| Boar's Head ?       | 1551                | "          | "                                      | Lozenge ?                 |
| "                   | 1548-9              | Dublin     | Half Roses                             | Lozenge                   |
| Harp                | 1550-1              | "          | "                                      | "                         |
| P.                  | 1550-1              | "          | "                                      | "                         |
| (None)              | "                   | "          | "                                      | "                         |

WITH PORTRAIT OF HENRY VIII.

| Denomination and Portrait. |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|------|-------------|------|--------|------|---------------|------|--|
| Groat.                     |      |      |      |      | Half Groat. |      | Penny. |      | Half-Penny.   |      | Remarks.   |
| 1st.                       | 2nd. | 3rd. | 4th. | 5th. | 1st.        | 5th. | 1st.   | 5th. | 1st.          | 5th. |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      | x           |      |        |      |               |      | Bristol bust on Groat. Lombardic lettering.                              |
| x                          |      |      |      |      |             |      | x      |      |               |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      |      | x           |      | x      |      | x             |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      | x    | x           |      |        | x    |               |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      | x    | x           |      | x      |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |               |      | Half Groat, first bust, reads A'. F'                                     |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
| x                          | x    |      |      |      | x           |      | x      |      |               |      |  |
| x                          |      | x    |      |      | x           |      | x      |      | x             |      |  |
| x                          |      | x    |      | x    | x           | x    |        | x    |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    | BM.         |      |        |      |               |      | Lombardic lettering on obverse only.                                     |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
| x                          |      |      |      | x    | x           |      |        |      |               |      |  |
| Si                         |      |      |      | x    | x           | x    |        |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      | x    |             | x    |        |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      |        | BM.  | BM. Hand Book |      | Probably the halfpenny has the first bust, as on all London halfpennies. |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |
|                            |      |      |      |      |             |      |        |      |               |      |  |

## BASE COINS, WITH THE PORTRAIT OF EDWARD VI.

| Date.                     | Mint-mark.         | Fine-ness. | Mint.                         | Shilling. | Groat. | Half Groat. | Penny. | Half-penny. | Remarks.                   |
|---------------------------|--------------------|------------|-------------------------------|-----------|--------|-------------|--------|-------------|----------------------------|
| No date (1548-9).<br>1549 | Bow                | 8 oz.      | Durham House                  | B.M.      |        |             |        |             |                            |
|                           | Arrow              | "          | Tower                         | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Y                  | "          | Southwark                     | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Rose, reverse only | "          | ?                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | (None)             | "          | ?                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | TC in mono-gram    | "          | Bristol                       | Mu.       |        |             |        |             | Reverse mint-mark Arrow.   |
| "                         |                    | "          | Canterbury                    |           |        |             |        |             |                            |
| No date<br>1549           | Bow                | 6 oz.      | Durham House                  | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | E                  | 4 oz.      | Southwark                     |           | B.M.   | Mo.         | Hks.   |             |                            |
| "                         | Nil                | "          | ?                             |           |        |             | Rud.   | Mo.         |                            |
| 1549                      | Arrow              | 6 oz.      | Tower                         | ×         | ×      |             | ×      |             | Groat, etc., 4 oz. fine.   |
| "                         | Pheon              | "          | "                             | P.        |        |             |        |             | Reverse mint-mark Arrow.   |
| "                         | Swan               | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Y                  | "          | Southwark                     | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Bow                | "          | Durham House                  | P.        |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Grapple            | "          | D u r h a m House and Tower ? | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| 1550                      | Martlet            | "          | Tower                         | C.B.      |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Swan               | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Y                  | "          | Southwark                     | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Lion               | 3 oz.      | Tower                         | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Lis                | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Rose               | "          | "                             | Mu.       |        |             |        |             |                            |
| 1551                      | Lion               | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Lis                | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Rose               | "          | "                             | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| "                         | Y                  | "          | "                             | B.M.      |        |             |        |             | Reverse mint-mark Lis.     |
| 1549                      | TC in mono-gram    | 6 oz.      | Bristol                       | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| No date                   | Trefoil            | 4 oz.      | "                             |           |        |             | ×      | Mu.         | No mint-mark on halfpenny. |
| 1549                      | t or r             | 6 oz.      | Canterbury                    | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |
| No date                   | (None)             | 4 oz.      | "                             |           |        | ×           |        |             |                            |
| 1552                      | Harp               | 3 oz.      | Dublin                        | ×         |        |             |        |             |                            |

COINS OF THE FINE SILVER ISSUE.

| Date.  | Mint-mark.        | Mint. | Crown. | Half<br>Crown. | Shilling. | Sixpence. | Three-<br>pence. | Penny. | Half-<br>penny. | Farthing. | Remarks.                                    |
|--------|-------------------|-------|--------|----------------|-----------|-----------|------------------|--------|-----------------|-----------|---|
| 1551.. | Tun               | Tower | x      | x              | x         | x         |                  | B.M.   |                 |           | Dates only on<br>crowns and<br>half-crowns. |
| "      | <b>y</b>          | "     | x      | x              | x         | x         |                  |        |                 |           |   |
| 1551-3 | Escallop          | "     |        |                |           |           |                  | x      | B.M.            | B.M.      | Base.                                       |
| 1552.. | Tun               | "     | x      | x              |           |           | x                |        |                 |           |   |
| 1553.. | "                 | "     | x      | x              |           |           |                  |        |                 |           |   |
| 1552-3 | Pierced<br>Mullet | York  |        |                |           | x         | x                | x      |                 |           | Penny base.                                 |

TABLE OF MINT-MARKS.

| Date<br>(probable) | Mints                                  |                 |                 |                          |                  |                        |                           |                          | Remarks.        |
|--------------------|--|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
|                    | Tower<br>No. 1.                        | Tower<br>No. 2. | Tower<br>No. 3. | Southwark.               | Durham<br>House. | Bristol.               | Cantebury                 | York.                    | Dublin.         |
| 1547-48            | Arrow                                  | Lis             | K               | E                        | —                | WS in<br>mono-<br>gram | None                      | None                     | —               |
| 1548               | —                                      | —               | —               | —                        | Bow              | —                      | —                         | —                        | Boar's<br>head. |
| 1549               | Arrow<br>Pheon                         | Swan            | Swan            | Y<br>E on small<br>money | Bow<br>Grapple   | TC in<br>mono-<br>gram | None, t, rose<br>and lis. | None                     | —               |
| 1550               | Martlet                                | Swan            | Swan            | Y<br>E on small<br>money | —                | —                      | —                         | None                     | Harp.           |
| 1550-51            | Rose,                                  | Lion, Lis and Y |                 | —                        | —                | —                      | —                         | None                     | P               |
| 1551               | Tun.<br>Escallop<br>on small<br>money. | y               |                 | —                        | —                | —                      | —                         | None and<br>Boar's head? | P               |
| 1552-53            | Tun.<br>Escallop<br>on small<br>money. |                 |                 | —                        | —                | —                      | —                         | Pierced<br>mullet.       | Harp.           |







1. Type Ia, Die 1.

2. Ia, 4.

3 Ia, 7.



4 Ia, 8.

5. Ib, 10.

6. Ib, 11.




SILVER COINS OF THE TOWER MINT OF CHARLES I.

BY GRANT R. FRANCIS.

CHAPTER I.

THE CROWNS.

HE coinages of Charles I have received so much attention in recent years that it may seem presumptuous to attempt to introduce to the notice of the Society new matter sufficient to warrant the intrusion upon its space; but some value may attach to a careful examination of the different dies, and to a permanent and numbered record of the minor, and in many cases unpublished, varieties that are known to exist. I have been able to trace no fewer than forty-three crowns, issued from the Tower mint, and, although it is probable that this number comprises most of the die varieties and mules that were made, it is more than likely that, when the series of photographs has been published, further dies may be discovered and recorded. With that as its excuse, perhaps this paper may not be altogether unwelcome.

To take Hawkins' arrangement of the types as the basic principle upon which to describe the varieties in each issue, and to number these varieties consecutively throughout, would appear to be the most convenient method; but recent research has discovered hitherto unrecorded additions, and these necessitate a greater number of subdivisions in the types, which are explained hereafter. It should perhaps be mentioned here that Hawkins' Type 1, which exists in the half-crown issue, does not appear in that of the crowns.

*Type 1a.*—The dies of the first crown, issued in 1625, represent His Majesty on horseback to the left, a ruff round his neck, his armour plain, and his sword raised in a striking position, the horse

caparisoned, with a plume on his head and another on his crupper ; on the reverse is a square shield, garnished, with the arms blazoned as upon the coins of James I ; the ends of a cross fourchée appear from beneath the shield, and divide the legend into four parts. This division varies upon different coins : in some cases a pellet marks the completion of each word ; in others the pellet is absent, and, there being no division nor any space after the completed word, the legend, which should read CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO, has a jumbled and unfortunate appearance. Variations occur, for the most part, in the abbreviation of the King's official titles, which, read in full, were CAROLVS DEI GRATIA MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ FRANCIÆ ET HIBERNIÆ REX. The King's name is always given in full, and the words DEI GRATIA are always expressed as D-G ; but the names of the three kingdoms were variously contracted, and these contractions, and other differences, it will now be my purpose to describe.

No. 1.—Mint-mark lis (1625). Obverse: MAG : BRIT : FRA : ET : HIB : REX : , with two pellet stops after each word, and a triangle of three stops, to the right of the mint-mark, before the commencement of the legend. The sword cuts the inner circle line. Reverse: The legend, which is divided thus, CHRIS/TO · AVS/PICE · R/EGNO, has a pellet after each completed word, but none on either side of the upper limb of the cross, and the mint-mark is placed to the left of that limb. The Irish harp is bird-headed and small, and is well placed in the quarter. This coin is exactly as Snelling, lx, 7. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 1.)

No. 2.—Mint-mark lis. Obverse: MAG ! BRI ! FR ! ET ! HIB ! REX, with a single pellet to left of the mint-mark. The sword cuts the inner circle line. The reverse shows no pellet after the completed words, which are divided CHRIS/TOAVS/PICER/EGNO, and the mint-mark is placed to the right of the upper limb of the cross. (Cumberland Clark Sale, Lot 73.)

No. 3.—Mint-mark lis. Obverse: MAG ! BR ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX · with a pellet on each side of the mint-mark. (G. R. Francis.)

No. 4.—Mint-mark lis. Obverse: MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET ! HIB !

REX. There is no pellet by the mint-mark, and the sword does not cut the inner circle line. On the reverse the legend, which reads CHRI/STO · AV/SPICE · /REGNO, has a pellet after each completed word, and there is one on either side of the mint-mark, which is placed to the right of the upper limb of the cross. The Irish harp is heavy and clumsy, and impinges on the quartering line. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 2.)

No. 5.—Mint-mark lis. Obverse of No. 4; reverse exactly as Ruding, xviii, 1. No pellet by the mint-mark; the harp plain-headed. (S. M. Spink.)

No. 6.—Mint-mark lis. Obverse very similar to No. 4, with similar wording, but there is a pellet on either side of the mint-mark. Reverse of No. 1. (Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.)

No. 7.—Mint-mark cross calvary, punched over lis (1625-6). Obverse from the die of No. 2, with altered mint-mark. Reverse from a new die, showing the extraordinary and unhappy division of the legend by the limbs of the cross only, as previously mentioned, CHRI/STOAV/SPICE/REGNO. The Irish harp has the large bird's head, but is better centred than on No. 4. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 3.)

No. 8.—Mint-mark cross calvary. Different dies. Obverse: MAG!BRI!FRA!ET!HIB!REX. There are no pellets by the mint-mark. The reverse, which shows no stops in the legend, has the words divided as on No. 7. The Irish harp still has a bird's head, but is small and squat, with only five or six strings instead of eight or ten. The writer's specimen has the blunder AVSPIGE for AVSPICE. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 4.)

No. 9.—Mint-mark cross calvary. Obverse of No. 7; reverse of No. 8. (Hawkins, 472.)

*Type 1b.*—Certain coins having been struck, during this period, from silver mined in Wales, special reverses were prepared for their coinage, and include some of the rarest varieties of the series.

No. 10.—Mint-mark lis. The obverse is from the die of No. 4, and the reverse from a new die, which shows no ends to the cross, but has a large plume placed over the shield. There are no

stops in the legend, which is therefore undivided and presents a more symmetrical appearance than on the preceding coins. The mint-mark is to the right of the central plume, which shows a die flaw in the left feather, and a triangle of three pellets is at the end of the legend and to the left of the plume. The Irish harp is small with a large bird's head. Only one example of this coin appears to have been recorded for very many years, but the writer acquired, in 1914, an even more perfect specimen. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 5.)

No. 11.—Mint-mark cross calvary, punched over lis. A very interesting coin from the obverse die of No. 7, with the reverse die of No. 10, showing the die flaw in the left feather and an over-punched mint-mark. (G. R. Francis, Pl. I, Fig. 6.)

No. 12.—Mint-mark cross calvary, punched over lis. The obverse is from the die of No. 8; the reverse, apparently from a new die, with a neater plume over the shield, lacks the triangle of three pellets to left of the plume. The shield is slightly higher up in the field. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. II, Fig. 1.)

No. 13.—Mint-mark castle, punched over cross calvary, which is itself punched over lis (1627). The obverse is from the die of No. 8 and No. 12, with the mint-mark altered. The reverse shows the mint-mark to left of the plume, with a pellet each side of it; a pellet also is placed before the beginning, and between the words, of the legend. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. II, Fig. 2.)

I must now venture to differ from, and, I hope, to improve upon, Hawkins's enumeration of the types. In the first place his Type 2*a* was evidently preceded by his Type 2*b*, mint-marks plume and rose, as the former was not struck until 1632, and the latter were coined in 1630 and 1631 respectively. In the second place he omits a most interesting variety of the type altogether. I propose therefore to make three subdivisions of this type, namely, Type 2, corresponding with Hawkins 2*b*; Type 2*a*, corresponding with Hawkins 2*a*; and a new subdivision, 2*b*, which differs from any given by him.

*Type 2.*—The King is represented on a rather smaller scale, the sword resting on his shoulder, a ruff round his neck, a narrow





1. Type Ib, Die 12.

2. Ib. 13.

3. II. 14.



4. II. 15.

5. II. 17.

6. 11a, 21.

CROWNS OF THE TOWER-MINT OF CHARLES I.

scarf across his body, no plume on the horse's crupper, and the housings marked with a broad cross. The shield on the reverse is oval, garnished, with a plume above it, but no appearance of the ends of the cross from underneath. The Irish harp is not bird-headed, but has a scroll head, turned over backwards. This variety does not exist without the plume over the shield.

No. 14.—Mint-mark plume (1630). Reads on the *obverse*, MAG!BRIT!FRA!ET·HIB!REX·. A group of five pellets is placed to the left of the mint-mark, and there is one pellet to the right of it. The reverse has a group of five pellets after each word and after the mint-mark, which is to the left of the central plume, and one pellet to the right of the plume and before the legend. (G. R. Francis, Pl. II, Fig. 3.)

No. 15.—Mint-mark plume. The obverse has the same wording as No. 14, but a group of seven pellets before, and one pellet after, the mint-mark. The reverse has groups of seven pellets between the words, and groups of five pellets on each side of the mint-mark and to the right of the central plume. (G. R. Francis, Pl. II, Fig. 4.)

No. 16.—Mint-mark plume. Obverse of No. 14; reverse of No. 15. (S. M. Spink.)

No. 17.—Mint-mark rose, punched over plume (1631). Obverse from the die of No. 15, with mint-mark altered; reverse from the altered die of No. 14. (G. R. Francis, Pl. II, Fig. 5.)

No. 18.—Mint-mark rose, punched over plume. Obverse and reverse both from the dies of No. 14, with altered mint-mark. (Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.)

*Type 2a.*—In this type the ends of the cross, issuing from beneath the shield, are re-introduced at the top and sides only; the initials C.R. appear at the sides of the top arm, and the portions of the three arms extend only as far as the inner circle of the coin, so that the ends do not interfere with the wording of the legend as in the coins of Type 1a. The Irish harp is still with a scroll head, but the scroll now turns over forwards.

No. 19.—Mint-mark harp, punched over plume, which is, in



its turn, punched over rose (1632). The obverse is from the dies of 15 and 17, thus presenting another very interesting case of the same die being used for three successive mint-marks. In this case the old mint-mark has been over-punched badly, and the top of the coin presents a very slovenly appearance. The groups of five pellets to the left of the mint-mark have been removed, and their place is taken by a group of four contraction marks, or commas; the single pellet to the right of the mint-mark has also been replaced by a single symbol of the same type. The reverse is from a new die, which does not bear the central plume; there are similar groups of four contraction marks after each word of the legend, and a single mark appears to the right of the mint-mark. (G. R. Francis.)

No. 20.—Mint-mark harp, punched over plume. Obverse from the die of No. 14, altered as No. 19, but with five instead of four contraction marks to the left of the mint-mark. Reverse of No. 19. (Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.)

No. 21.—Mint-mark harp. Obverse from a new die, without over-punching, having a single pellet each side of the mint-mark. Reverse from the die of No. 19. (G. R. Francis, Pl. II, Fig. 6.)

*Type 2b.*—This variety is quite different from Type 2, and is unrecorded by Hawkins, except that in his 1887 edition he mentions a coin in Mr. Neck's collection, which he does not otherwise describe, but which was doubtless of this type.

No. 22.—Mint-mark harp. The obverse is from the altered die of No. 19, and the coin has a new reverse, in which the plume over the shield appears between the letters C·R· and so displaces the upper arm of the cross; the mint-mark is placed to the left, instead of the group of four contraction marks, and the words of the reverse legend are separated by single pellets, instead of by groups of four contraction marks. (Cumberland Clark Sale, Lot 78.)

No. 23.—Mint-mark harp. A new obverse die, reading MAG·BRIT·FRA·ET·HIBER·REX· but otherwise very similar to the last. This is the only Tower crown known to me which has the Irish title extended to HIBER'. The reverse is from the die of No. 22. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. III, Fig. 1.)





1. Type IIb, Die 23.

2. IIIb, 24.

3. IIIa, 25.



4. IIIa, 26.

5. IIIa, 27.

6. IIIa, 28.

*Types 3a and 3b.*—Hawkins states, under the heading of Briot's crown, that this "was probably executed in the year 1633 and served as a model for the type issued in that year with the mint-mark portcullis." As there is a distinct similarity in the design, it is possible that his assumption is correct, but it is a little difficult to see why, if that be so, the influence of such an artist as Nicholas Briot is not more apparent in the succeeding coins, and especially in the type and style of the lettering, which is so much more perfect on his coin. The design of this type shows the horse without any caparison, and with the head carried low; the King wears a falling lace collar in place of the ruff; the sword is held upright, and the scarf is broad and floats behind. The shield on the reverse is oval and garnished, with the central plume, denoting Welsh silver, above it.

Here again Hawkins's types are chronologically wrong, for the first issue of that type, with the portcullis mint-mark, does not exist in 3a, but it is identical, except for the central plume and the Irish harp, with the reverse of 3a. I propose to correct his order by putting the portcullis (his 3b) first, and the bell (his 3a) after it, and thereafter following on with the two types indiscriminately, in the correct order of their issue, without keeping 3a and 3b as distinct and separately numbered types.

No. 24.—Mint-mark portcullis (1633). Obverse legend reads MAG ! BRI ! FRA ! ET ! HI ! REX. There is a single pellet on either side of the mint-mark; the King's sword slightly pierces the inner circle and touches the letter X of REX. The reverse has the large central plume, with a pellet on either side of it, and there is a pellet after each word of the legend. The Irish harp has again a bird's head of a peculiar form. (G. R. Francis, Pl. III, Fig. 2.)

No. 25.—Mint-mark bell, punched over portcullis (1634). Obverse die of No. 24, but with the mint-mark altered. The reverse shows a stop between the words, and a group of four marks on each side of the mint-mark. The scroll of the harp head now again turns backward. (G. R. Francis, Pl. III, Fig. 3.)

No. 26.—Mint-mark bell. The obverse is from a new die,

without over-punching. The legend reads, MAG! BR! FR! ET! HIB! REX. The King's sword is very long and pierces the inner circle to left of the mint-mark. The reverse shows all the characteristics of the reverse of No. 25, but is from a different die. (G. R. Francis, Pl. III, Fig. 4.)

No. 27.—Mint-mark crown, punched over bell (1635). From the obverse of No. 26 and from a very similar reverse, but with a single pellet on either side of the mint-mark, instead of a group of four. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. III, Fig. 5.)

No. 28.—Mint-mark crown. The obverse legend reads, MAG! BRI! FR! ET! HI! REX. The horse and rider, and the sword, are all similar to No. 27, but there are four pellets, instead of a single pellet, at the end of the legend. The reverse is from the die of No. 27. (G. R. Francis, Pl. III, Fig. 6.)

No. 29.—Mint-mark crown. Obverse of No. 28. The reverse has the mint-mark punched over the bell mint-mark of die No. 26. (Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.)

No. 30.—Mint-mark crown (Hawkins' Type 3*b*). Obverse from the die of No. 28. The reverse, as usual, is from a new die, with the large central plume to denote it struck from Welsh silver, with the mint-mark to left of the plume, and with a single pellet at the beginning and after the first two words of the legend, but none by the mint-mark. The Irish harp has the head with the scroll turned over backwards. (G. R. Francis, Pl. IV, Fig. 1.)

No. 31.—Mint-mark ton, punched over crown (1638) (Hawkins' Type 3*a*). Obverse and reverse from the dies of No. 28, with the mint-mark altered. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. IV, Fig. 2.)

No. 32.—Mint-mark ton (Hawkins' Type 3*b*). Obverse legend reads MAG! BR! FR! ET. HI! REX. There is a single pellet to left of the sword, which cuts the inner circle, and one to the right of the mint-mark. The reverse has four pellets on either side of the mint-mark. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. IV, Fig. 3.)

The above is the last coin issued with the Welsh plume, to denote the origin of the metal, which was struck at the Tower in this reign.





1. Type IIIb, Die 30.

2. IIIa, 31.

3. IIIb, 32.



4. IIIa, 33.

5. IIIa, 34.

6. IIIa, 35.

No. 33.—Mint-mark prostrate anchor (1638). The obverse legend reads MAG! BR! FR! ET · HIB! REX·, and there is a group of four pellets at the end of the legend; also a blundered group of four pellets at the beginning. The sword does not cut the inner circle. The reverse has four pellets on either side of the mint-mark, and single pellets between the words. (G. R. Francis, Pl. IV, Fig. 4.)

No. 34.—Mint-mark prostrate anchor. The obverse legend reads MAG! BR! FR! ET · HI! REX ·, and there is only one pellet on either side of the mint-mark. It would appear as though this obverse die had broken, and been repaired, giving the anchor a blurred appearance and forcing the King's crown down upon his head in a very unsightly manner. Reverse from the die of No. 33. (G. R. Francis, Pl. IV, Fig. 5.)

No. 35.—Mint-mark triangle, punched over anchor (1639). The obverse is from the die of No. 34, and shows the same traces of repair. The reverse is from the die used for Nos. 33 and 34, with the altered mint-mark. (G. R. Francis, Pl. IV, Fig. 6.)

No. 36.—Mint-mark star (1640). The obverse legend reads MAG! BRIT! FRAN! ET · HIB! REX ·, and there is a single pellet on either side of the mint-mark. Hawkins does not mention this reading of the obverse legend, and Murdoch (lot 103) and Cumberland Clark (lot 82) are described as "unpublished" accordingly, but I have not seen this coin with any other reading. The reverse has a group of four pellets on either side of the mint-mark and single pellets between the words. (British Museum, Pl. V, Fig. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

*Type 4.*—It is generally conceded that the coins of Type 4 were struck by workmen other than those who struck the preceding types, and from the facts that Thomas Bushell was striking the King's money at Aberystwith as early as 1637, that Rawlings was at work at Shrewsbury and Oxford in 1642, and the chief workmen had probably fled from the Tower at least in the previous year, it may be presumed that the whole of this type, and indeed possibly that with the star mint-mark of Type 3, were struck by subordinate

<sup>1</sup> See appendix with reference to a coin in the National Collection with mint mark triangle-in-circle.



and inferior artists under the authority of Parliament, and without that of the King. The striking of some of the pieces therefore leaves much to be desired, but in other respects the work suffered little at their hands, and far less than might have been expected considering the disturbed and anxious times, and the disadvantages under which they would labour in the disappearance of the experienced workers, and doubtless also of many of the tools with which they worked. Sir John Coniers being Governor of the Tower in 1642, for the Parliament, which had usurped the royal authority, the type issued in 1643 was really the beginning of the Parliamentary series of crowns, although the Parliament did not presume to issue coins without the King's portrait or titles until after his execution, and for this reason both these coins, and those avowedly struck with his authority at the provincial mints, are treated as part of the regular issues of the monarch. The new obverse shows the King upon a horse considerably fore-shortened, in comparison with the earlier issues; the horse turns his head to the left and towards the spectator, and has his tail between his hind legs, and the mane extends in front of his chest. There are no varieties of wording or abbreviations from now until the end of the reign, and the obverse legend reads MAG! BRI! FRA! ET · HIB! REX · The reverse is exactly as on the preceding coins.

No. 37.—Mint-mark (p) (1643). On the obverse there is a single pellet on each side of the mint-mark. The reverse exactly resembles that of the coins of the preceding type, with four pellets in a group on either side of the mint-mark and single pellets between the words. The harp is scroll-headed, with the scroll turned backwards. Crowns with this mint-mark are very scarce. (W. B. Thorpe, Pl. V, Fig. 2.)

No. 38.—Mint-mark (R) (1644). Obverse from the same die as No. 37, with the mint-mark punched over the (p). Reverse also probably from the die of No. 37. This mint-mark is even scarcer than (p). (G. R. Francis, Pl. V, Fig. 3.)

In this case Hawkins says: "Pollett places the (p) after the (R) and assigns the former mint-mark to 1645; he is most probably





1. Type IIIa, Die 36.



2. IV. 37.



3. IV. 38.



4. IV. 39.



5. IV. 41.



6. V. 43.



CROWNS OF THE TOWER-MINT OF CHARLES I.

correct." This cannot be so, for, as stated above, the (R) is clearly punched over the (p).

No. 39.—Mint-mark eye (1645). Obverse exactly as on the preceding coins of the issue, but from a different die, with a single pellet on either side of the mint-mark. Reverse similar, but the shield is rather rounder, and the harp is bird-headed ; groups of four pellets on either side of the mint-mark. (G. R. Francis, Pl. V, Fig. 4.)

No. 40.—Mint-mark sun (1645). This coin is much more frequently met with than others of the issue, and appears to have been struck from more than one set of dies. Obverse as before, but no stops by the mint-mark. Reverse, also similar, but the harp is not bird-headed, and is of quite a new form ; there are groups of four irregular stops on either side of the mint-mark, and on this coin a pellet is introduced, doubtless unintentionally, after the C of Christo. (G. R. Francis.)

No. 41.—Mint-mark sun. A rare variety with pellets on either side of obverse mint-mark. The reverse is very similar to the last, but is from a different die and lacks the pellet after the C of Christo. (G. R. Francis, Pl. V, Fig. 5.)

No. 42.—Mint-mark sun. Obverse of No. 40 ; reverse of No. 41. (Cumberland Clark Sale, Lot 87.)

*Type 5.*—Finally, to quote the author so frequently referred to, a last issue from the Tower appeared, of which the spirit, neatness, and minuteness of detail leads us to believe that it is the production of Thomas Simon. The horse is shown large, with erect head, mane in front of chest, and tail flowing back from the body. There appears to have been only one set of dies.

No. 43.—Mint-mark sun. Obverse legend as before, a single pellet to right of the mint-mark. The sword cuts the inner circle and extends to left of the mint-mark. Reverse as before, but with the groups of four stops on either side of the mint-mark closed up together. This coin is always on a large, well-spread, thin blank. It was struck quite at the end of 1645, and, though the sceptre mint-mark was used in the Tower in 1646, no crowns bearing that mint-mark were issued. (British Museum, Pl. V, Fig. 6.)

## APPENDIX.

Since the foregoing was written my attention was recalled to a unique piece, in the National collection, by one of our Vice-Presidents, Miss Helen Farquhar, as a coin which might have some direct bearing on my paper on the "Tower Crowns of Charles I." The coin referred to is that with the mint-mark triangle-in-circle, which Miss Farquhar referred to and illustrated<sup>1</sup> in her most interesting work on "Nicholas Briot and the Civil War."

This coin I have always considered to be a trial or pattern piece, and I therefore did not include it in my remarks; but whilst a close study of this crown confirms



CROWN WITH MINT-MARK TRIANGLE-IN-CIRCLE.

me in my belief that it is a pattern, it presents so many features of interest that a note on the coin and an attempt to reconstruct its history from those features seems to be called for.

The last mint-mark of Type 3a was the star—No. 36 in my list of varieties. This coin generally shows a weak horse and a rider whose figure and features, even in an unworn coin, are almost invisible. The inference is, of course, that the puncheon of the die, which was first used for the "portcullis" crown of 1633, was very worn and possibly had been previously discarded.

Now the star mint-mark was used in the Tower in 1640, and we know that between that date and 1642 certain puncheons then in use were conveyed, either by Sir William Parkhurst or by David Ramage, to Shrewsbury for use at that mint, and we find the puncheon of the pound and half-pound pieces of Hawkins' Type 1, struck in 1642, to be identical in every way with that in use in the Tower for the Type 3 Crowns. What then is more natural than that the actual puncheons then in use were those "Comanded out of the Mint,"<sup>2</sup> and conveyed to Shrewsbury, as referred to in the context under Type 3a?

Imagining this to be so, it is quite probable that a faulty puncheon had to be used for the few crowns with the star mint-mark which were struck after the removal of the better tools.

<sup>1</sup> *Numismatic Chronicle*, series iv, vol. xiv plate xiii, No. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Farquhar's "Nicholas Briot," page 189.

It would appear, then, that a totally new design was decided upon for the Tower issues, and this subsequently appeared in the foreshortened horse type (Type 4), with the (p) mint-mark, in 1643; but meantime the triangle-in-circle mint-mark had been introduced, and there would be no available puncheons with which to make dies for crowns, except the faulty ones used for the later "star" crowns, which were obviously unfit for their work.

Now it is assumed (see note in context under Types 3*a* and *b*) that Briot's own crown—whether a proof or a regular issue is not quite certain—which was executed in 1632–33, formed the model for Type 3, and was the prototype of the crown issued in that year with the mint-mark portcullis. His puncheons would undoubtedly have been preserved, and the mint officials, in their necessity, would appear to have used an old puncheon of one of Briot's crowns to replace the faulty puncheon used for the "star" mint-mark, in preparing a die for the triangle-in-circle mint-mark. This is almost proved by the look of the puncheon in the unique coin with the mint-mark referred to, and the assumption is made nearly certain by the two facts that the mint-mark on the obverse of the coin has undoubtedly been over-punched and therefore the collar of an old die must also have been used.

Moreover, to prove finally that an old Briot die was used for the obverse of this coin, the stops in the legend after the words—except that after ET, which is a pellet for spacing only—are diamond shaped, which peculiarity never occurred on a Tower crown, but is invariably found on the Briot crowns. The point to be determined is what Briot die could have been used. The legend is, MAG ♦ BRIT ♦ FR ♦ ET. HIB ♦ REX ♦, which does not coincide with any Briot die that I am aware of; moreover, the old mint-mark on the obverse of this coin looks much more like an anchor than either an anemone and B, or a thistle and B. Did Briot ever prepare a die for a proposed anchor crown?

If we admit the probability of this, as the origin of the obverse of this coin, there is even less doubt as to that of the reverse. It is from the reverse die of No. 36, with the "star" mint-mark altered to triangle-in-circle, and clearly shows the three lower points of the star under the new mint-mark. This coin, therefore, is exactly in the same category as the rare and curious half-crowns, of which specimens are known in the National, Colonel Morrieson's, and Miss Farquhar's collections, with anchor, and triangle over anchor, mint-marks, which have diamond stops in the legend, square shields on the reverse, and show similar characteristics, and I therefore consider, with Miss Farquhar, that these coins are merely evidences that "a continuous movement had been made by Briot to introduce his favourite design at the Tower between 1639 and 1643," and that they were really trial or pattern pieces.

This "movement" appears to have failed, until the period of the "star" mint-mark, and the removal from the Tower of the official dies; when it evidently partially succeeded, as Briot's type of the York half-crown was immediately adopted for the later Tower half-crowns with mint-mark star, and became the recognised type for this and the succeeding triangle-in-circle mint-mark, and, as we have seen, a die for a crown with the latter mint-mark was actually prepared.

In 1643, moreover, the type of these two half-crowns became the obvious

prototype for the new Tower crown dies ; and those of the (p), (R), eye, and early sun mint-marks appear to have been clearly adapted from Briot's York half-crown design, though, curiously enough, his influence disappears from the half-crown dies of the same period, and the coins revert to the old type of the anchor and triangle mint-marks.

What more natural to suppose than that only the crown dies were "comanded out of the Tower," and, as we know, were used by the King's adherents at Shrewsbury, and that the half-crown dies remained and were again used when Briot's influence waned ?

This is, of course, all pure conjecture, but it will, I think, be admitted that it is at least probable, and, that being so, it may be reasonable to suppose that the extraordinary crown piece so evolved did not meet with approval, and that very few specimens—if, indeed, any other than the one under discussion—were struck, and also that the coin was never issued to the public.







COINS OF THE SHREWSBURY MINT, 1642.

PLATE I.

## THE COINS OF THE SHREWSBURY MINT, 1642.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**I**N 1642 the relations between King Charles I and the Parliament had become so strained that there was apparently no other way of settling their differences than by fighting. The King raised his standard at Nottingham on the 22nd August. On the 20th September he reached Wellington, in Shropshire, where before his whole Army he made that well-known proclamation<sup>1</sup> to his people that he would preserve the Protestant Religion, the laws of England and the liberty of Parliament, and on the following day he fixed his headquarters at Shrewsbury. A week later, on the 28th, he informed the gentlemen of the county that he had sent for a mint, the workers of which arrived a few days afterwards.

The mint establishment which he had commanded to come was that of Aberystwith, which had been established at that place in 1637 by letters patent to Thomas Bushell, and on the 21st October the first coins were issued. The period during which the mint was active was very short—a bare three months—for at the end of December the King moved his headquarters to Oxford, and the mint followed him, reaching there on the 3rd January.

The coins issued during this brief period were the first of that series known as the Declaration type. These are all of silver, and are of the values of twenty shillings or Pound, ten shillings or Half-pound, five shillings or Crown, Two shillings and sixpence or Half-crown, and shillings. If coins of lower denomination were struck they are indistinguishable from those of Aberystwith. No gold coins are known, though a “twenty shilling piece of gold” is

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix.

mentioned in a footnote to Miss Farquhar's paper, "On Nicholas Briot and the Civil War," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series, vol. 14, p. 206. All the "Declaration" unites and half-unites of this year have the Oxford peculiarities, and are attributed to that city.

As these coins have no particular mark to distinguish them from those coined at Oxford, it is necessary to look for some peculiarity by which they may be recognised. This is found in the plumes with which the coins are so liberally endowed. On inspecting these plumes it will be seen that some have bands beneath the coronet, while others have none. On the Aberystwith coins, with very few exceptions, the plumes have no bands, while those coined at Oxford in 1643 have them, and the two are connected by a series of mules. Thus, there are coins dated 1642, with an obverse from an Aberystwith die, with a reverse bearing bandless plumes, and there are others which have, on either obverse or reverse, bandless plumes, muled with reverses or obverses with those having bands. Some shillings and sixpences of Oxford, dated 1643, have bandless plumes, but the date precludes their attribution to Shrewsbury. It is, therefore, now generally accepted that all those coins of 1642 which have bandless plumes on both sides, or those mentioned above with an Aberystwith obverse, belong to Shrewsbury. This bandless form is generally referred to as the Shrewsbury plume, while that with bands is known as the Oxford plume.

According to Bushell, these coins, other than the shilling, were first issued by Charles at his suggestion as medals to reward his troops, the Pound being for colonels, the Half-pound for senior and the Crown for junior officers, while the Half-crown was for the rank and file. This may account for their having an abbreviated Latin version of the Wellington declaration across the field on the reverse. The weights, however, were calculated on the monetary system, so that they might pass as money. Another reason which induced Bushell to make this suggestion may have been that by his patent he was not empowered to strike any piece of greater value than half a crown, and by calling the higher denominations

medals he got over that difficulty. These pieces are supposed to have been struck from plate sent to him for that purpose from the colleges of Oxford and other loyal adherents.

Considering the short time that the mint was in operation, one is struck by the large number of varieties of the different denominations, and wonders in what order they were issued. The following is, I think, the solution. Time pressed, dies had to be prepared, and various engravers were employed, each of whom produced his own idea of a general design. The consequence of this was that a number of different obverse and reverse dies were produced at the same time. When it came to striking the coins they were used indiscriminately, consequently, to get the number of variations, one has to employ the mathematical method known to school boys as "combinations." By taking this view, order comes out of chaos, and in each denomination a varying number of obverse and reverse dies will be found, with few exceptions, muled together.

#### GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

On the obverse of the coins, from the pound to the half-crown, within a beaded circle, the King is represented on horseback facing to the left, crowned, with a sword in his right hand and the ends of the scarf flying to the rear; in the two higher denominations he is generally depicted riding over arms; on the smaller there is often a line under the horse. Except on those which have the plume as mint-mark, there is a plume in the field behind the King. The legend reads CAROLVS ! D ! G ! MAG ! BRIT ! FRA ! ET · HIB ! REX, with other abbreviations of the royal titles. There is generally an outer beaded circle. The equestrian figure usually found on the coins is a libel on the sovereign, and gives the idea that the engraver was not by any means a supporter of the cause. The King has his back bent, a woebegone countenance, and looks as if he was very cold, while the horse is a coarse, underbred looking beast, with his off fore and near hind feet raised. This will be termed the Shrewsbury horse.

On the shillings there is the bust of the King to the left, and it is after the Aberystwith model, with inner circle, with a plume in front. There is the usual legend. On the reverse, in the outer circle, they have for the legend those very stirring and appropriate words at the beginning of the first verse of the sixty-eighth Psalm: EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI, which commences well to the left of the top. There are two beaded circles, an outer and an inner. Within the inner, the field is divided into three compartments. In the upper is the value with, as a rule, three plumes. The plumes vary, but may fairly be divided into two classes, one with well-defined feathers (Pl. I, Fig. 9), which I shall call fat plumes; the other, poor and skimpy looking, which I shall call thin plumes (Pl. I, Fig. 7). On some the lower circle of the coronet is depicted. This, however, is always found with fat plumes. In the middle there is, in two lines, an abbreviated and varied Latin summary of the King's declaration of the 19th September, such as RELIG : PROT : LEG : ANGL : LIBER : PARL. On the shilling, however, this is in three lines. In the third or lowest compartment is the date 1642. In describing the different types, the obverses will be enumerated by letters and the reverses by figures.

At the beginning of the legends, on those coins which have not the Mint-mark plume, are groups of pellets, varying from one to nine in number. These groups, except where they are decidedly marks of punctuation, will be described as mint-marks. It is an open question what these pellets really mean, as they may refer to the number of the particular die. The pellet often found in the middle of the reverse is merely the mark made by the engraver to show the centre of the die when preparing it.

The following list includes all the coins known to me:—

#### POUNDS.

#### OBVERSES.

A. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark five pellets ::. The horse is of the Tower Type 3a, with nothing under it, a fat plume behind.

Legend CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRA : ET · HIB : REX (Pl. I, Fig. 1). This is found with reverse No. 2, Snelling, XII, 15, Montagu Sale 1896, Lot 534.

B. Hawkins No. 3. Mint-mark one pellet •. Shrewsbury horse walking over arms, most conspicuous among which is a helmet with a long curling feather ; thin plumes with circle or coronet marked behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAGN : BRIT : FRA : ET : HI : REX (Pl. I, Fig. 2). This is found with reverse No. 3.

C. Hawkins No. 4. Mint-mark two pellets :. Shrewsbury horse walking over arms, amongst which is a cannon ; thin plume behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX · (Pl. I, Fig. 4). This is found with reverse No. 1.

D. Mint-mark four pellets ••••. Shrewsbury horse walking over arms, mostly spears ; thin plume some distance behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRITAN : FR : ET : HIB : REX · (Pl. I, Fig. 3). This die was apparently damaged before it had been long in use, and the coins struck from it in this condition have a large flaw obliterating the mint-mark all but the lowest pellet, with smaller flaws on other parts of the surface (Pl. I, Fig. 5). This damaged coin is Hawkins' No. 4, for which that author erroneously gives the mint-mark as " Plume ? " In its perfect state the obverse is found with reverse No. 2, and in the damaged condition with reverses Nos. 2 and 4. Doubtless the uninjured die will be discovered with reverse No. 4, but as yet I have not seen it.

#### REVERSES.

1. Hawkins No. 4. Mint-mark two pellets :. Pellet each side of the XX, which indicates the value, with a single thin plume above. The declaration reads, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Two pellets between words of legend (Pl. I, Fig. 7). This is found with obverse C.

2. Mint-mark one pellet. Pellet each side of the mark of value, and three thin plumes ; declaration as on No. 1, 1642 ; single pellets between words of legend (Pl. I, Fig. 6). This reverse is found with obverses A (Snelling, XII, 15), D, and D damaged die.

3. Hawkins No. 3. Mint-mark two pellets ::. No pellets by value; three thin plumes; declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANGL · LIBERT · PAR 1642. Two pellets between words of legend (Pl. I, Fig. 8). This is found with obverse B.

4. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark five pellets ::::. No pellets by value; three fat plumes; declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG ANGL : LIBER : PAR, pellet above B of LIBER. 1642. Single pellet between words of legend (Pl. I, Fig. 9). This is found with obverses A and D damaged die; also with Oxford obverse, Hawkins No. 4.

## HALF-POUNDS.

### OBVERSES.

A. Mint-mark five pellets ::::. Similar to obverse A of the Pound (Pl. II, Fig. 10). This obverse is found with reverse No. 6.

B. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark nine pellets :::::; otherwise similar to obverse A (Pl. II, Fig. 2). This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 1, 4, and 5.

C. Hawkins No. 2. Mint-mark one pellet. This type is struck on a small flan. Shrewsbury horse with line underneath; thin plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIBER · REX (Pl. II, Fig. 12). This obverse is found with reverse No. 3.

D. Mint-mark two pellets ::; also on a small flan. Shrewsbury horse, with line underneath, with a big flaw just under the near hind foot; a thin plume behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G · MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX : (Pl. II, Fig. 13). This obverse is found with reverse No. 2.

E. Mint-mark three pellets ::. Shrewsbury horse walking over arms; thin plume close behind the King's head. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET · HIB : REX (Pl. II, Fig. 14). This obverse is found with reverse No. 2.

F. Hawkins No. 3. Mint-mark plume, without coronet or bands. Shrewsbury horse walking over arms, which are not so many as on D; no plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT :







COINS OF THE SHREWSBURY MINT, 1642.

FRAN : ET : HIB : REX · (Pl. II, Fig. 15). There is a flaw which obliterates the G of D : G : . This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 3 and 6.

REVERSES.

1. Mint-mark nine pellets  $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ . The value X, with a pellet, and a fat plume at each side, and a pellet above and below. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG ANGL : LIBER : PAR 1642. Pellets between words of legend (Pl. II, Fig. 16). This reverse is found with obverse B.

2. Mint-mark one pellet. Value, with pellet each side, and three thin plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Pellets between words of legend (Pl. II, Fig. 17). This reverse is found with obverses D and E, that with E being of much finer work (Pl. II, Fig. 18).

3. Hawkins No. 2. Mint-mark two pellets  $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ , otherwise as No. 2, but has two pellets between the words of the legend (Pl. II, Fig. 19). This reverse is found with obverses C and F ; it was also used subsequently at the Oxford mint. (Hawkins No. 1.)

4. Mint-mark four pellets ( $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ ). Value, without pellets, three fat plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANGL · LIBER · PARL, a pellet under P of PROT. 1642. Pellets between words of legend (Pl. II, Fig. 20). This reverse is found with obverse B.

5. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark five pellets  $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ , otherwise similar to No. 4, except that there is apparently no pellet under P. Hawkins states that this coin is in the British Museum, but it is not there now, so this is given on the authority of Snelling, XII, 13, but probably it is really No. 4 wrongly engraved. This reverse is alleged to be found with obverse B.

6. Mint-mark nine pellets  $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ , otherwise similar to No. 5 (Pl. II, Fig. 21). This reverse is found with obverses A and E.

CROWNS.

OBVERSES.

A. Mint-mark five pellets  $\cdot\ddot{\cdot}\cdot\ddot{\cdot}$ . Aberystwith horse, nothing below, with fat plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG :

BRI : FRA : ET : HIB : REX (Pl. III, Fig. 22). This obverse is found with reverse No. 4.

B. Mint-mark one pellet. Similar to Half-pound obverse C (Pl. II, Fig. 12), and probably from the same die. This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 5 ; it was also used at Oxford in 1642 and 1643.

C. Mint-mark two pellets ••, from the same die as the Half-pound obverse D (Pl. II, Fig. 13). This obverse is found with reverse No. 2.

#### REVERSES.

1. Mint-mark one pellet. Pellet each side of value V, and three thin plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Pellets between words of legend (Pl. III, Fig. 23). This reverse is found with obverse B.

2. Mint-mark one pellet. Similar to No. 1, but the field inside the inner circle is larger, thus giving more space to the upper and lower compartments. Declaration reads LIBERT instead of LIBER, and there is a pellet above the B of LIBERT (Pl. III, Fig. 24). This reverse is found with obverse C.

3. Mint-mark two pellets :, otherwise similar to No. 1, but with two pellets after EXVRGAT and DEVS, but only one after DISSIPENTVR (Pl. III, Fig. 25). This reverse is found with obverse B.

4. Mint-mark five pellets :•:. No pellets by value ; three fat plumes. Legend, RELIG : PROT : LEG ANGL : LIBER : PARL 1642. Pellets between words of legend (Pl. III, Fig. 26). The British Museum has a double struck specimen which makes the Mint-mark appear as if it were eight pellets (:•:•:). This reverse is found with obverses A and B.

5. Mint-mark seven pellets •:•:•, otherwise similar to No. 3 (Pl. III, Fig. 27). This reverse is found with obverse B.





# HALF-CROWNS.

## OBVERSES.

A. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark book. This is the Aberystwith Obverse C. Vide *British Numismatic Journal*, Series I, Vol. X, p. 185. (Pl. III, Fig. 28.) This obverse is found with Reverse No. 1.

B. Hawkins No. 2. Mint-mark six pellets •••••. Aberystwith horse with fat plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET : HIB : REX (Pl. III, Fig. 29). Hawkins gives this as five pellets cross-wise, which is incorrect: he must have taken his description from a coin in the British Museum, which lacks one of the outer pellets. This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 4 and 8.

C. Hawkins No. 5. Mint-mark one pellet. Shrewsbury horse, no line below; thin plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G : MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX (Pl. III, Fig. 30). This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 2 and 3.

D. Hawkins No. 3. Mint-mark two pellets ••. Shrewsbury horse with line underneath, thin plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BR : FRAN : ET : HIB : REX (Pl. III, Fig. 31). This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 2, 3 (Walters Sale, Lot 660), 4, 5, and 9.

E. Mint-mark two pellets ••. Similar to obverse D, but legend reads CAROLVS · D : G · MA · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX (Pl. III, Fig. 32). This obverse is found with reverse No. 3.

F. Mint-mark plume without coronet or bands. Shrewsbury horse, line below, no plume behind. Legend, CAROLVS : D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET : HIB : REX : (Pl. III, Fig. 33). This half-crown corresponds with Half-pound obverse F. This obverse is found with reverses Nos. 7 and 8.

## REVERSES.

1. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark two pellets ••. A single thin plume with a large coronet, with lower circle well defined; a pellet each side. Declaration, RELIG : PROT · LEG ANGL · LIBERT ·

PAR 1642. Two pellets between words of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 34). This reverse is found with obverse A.

2. Hawkins No. 2. Mint-mark one pellet. A single thin plume ; pellet each side. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBER · PAR ; pellet over B of LIBER. 1642. Pellet between each word of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 35). There is a variety in which the legend reads LIBERT, instead of LIBER, with no pellet over the B, British Museum (Pl. IV, Fig. 36). This reverse is found with obverses C and D, and the variety with obverse D.

3. Hawkins No. 4. Mint-mark one pellet. Value · 2 · 6. Pellet on either side of both figures, a thin plume between. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBERT · PAR ; pellet over E of LIBERT. 1642. Pellet between each word of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 37). This reverse is found with obverses C, D and E.

4. Mint-mark one pellet. Three thin plumes. Declaration as on No. 2, 1642. Pellet between each word of the legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 38). This reverse is found with obverses B and D.

5. Mint-mark two pellets · ·, otherwise as No. 4 (Pl. IV, Fig. 39). This reverse is found with obverse D.

6. Mint-mark four pellets · · · ·. Three thin plumes. Declaration, RELIG · PROT · LEG ANG · LIBER · PAR ; pellet over B of LIBER. 1642. Pellet between words of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 7). I have only found this reverse with an Oxford obverse.

7. Mint-mark seven pellets · · · · ·, otherwise similar to No. 5 (Pl. IV, Fig. 41). This corresponds with crown reverse No. 5. This reverse is found with obverse F.

8. Mint-mark nine pellets · · · · ·. Three fat plumes. Declaration, RELIG : PROT : LEG ANGL : LIBER : PARL ; pellet over I of LIBER. 1642. Pellet between each word of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 42). This corresponds with Half-pound reverse No. 6. This reverse is found with obverses B and F.

9. Mint-mark nine pellets · · · · ·, otherwise similar to No. 7, except that the pellet is over B instead of I (Pl. IV, Fig. 43). This reverse is found with obverse D.







34



35



36



37



38



39



40



41



42



43



44



45



46



47



48

COINS OF THE SHREWSBURY MINT, 1642.

PLAT

## SHILLINGS.

### OBVERSES.

A. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark book, from the die of the Aberystwith Shilling D ("Coinage of Aberystwith, 1637-42," *British Numismatic Journal*, Series I, Vol. X, p. 187) (Pl. IV, Fig. 44). This obverse is found with reverses No. 1, EXVRGAT and EXVGAT.

B. Mint-mark plume, without coronet or bands. Bust as that of the King on the Shrewsbury horse, but much enlarged; no plume in front. Legend, CAROLVS · D : G · MAG · BR · FR · ET · HIB · REX (Pl. IV, Fig. 45). This obverse is found with reverses No. 1 EXVRGAT, and 2; also muled with an Oxford reverse in Mr. R. Carlyon-Britton's collection.

### REVERSES.

1. Hawkins No. 1. Mint-mark one pellet. Three thin plumes. Declaration in three lines, RELIG · PROT LEG · ANG · LIBER · PAR 1642. Pellet between each word of the legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 46.) A variety reads EXVGAT instead of EXVRGAT (Pl. IV, Fig. 47). This reverse is found with obverse A for both varieties, and with B for EXVGAT (British Museum).

2. Mint-mark two pellets :. Three thin plumes. Declaration in three lines, a line under each, RELIG · PROT LEG · ANG LIBER · PAR. 1642. Pellet between each word of legend (Pl. IV, Fig. 48). This reverse is found with obverse B.

## SMALLER DENOMINATIONS.

As before stated, if smaller denominations were coined, they must have been struck with the ordinary Aberystwith dies. In my paper "On the Coinage of Aberystwith, 1637-42" (*British Numismatic Journal*, Series I, Vol. X), I refer to a penny, mint-mark on obverse four pellets, which I state may have been struck either here or at Oxford.

Several points of interest strike one on looking at these coins. The first is the number of plumes which appear to be scattered in reckless profusion on both sides. One on each side can be accounted

for. In the letters patent authorising Bushell to start the mint at Aberystwith, it was laid down that a plume was to be placed on both sides. This, therefore, accounts for that appearing in the field of the obverse. When the plume was used as a mint-mark there was no necessity for that in the field, so it is found wanting. But how about the usual three on the reverse? The reason for one of them has been shown, but what about the other two? Thomas Bushell was a staunch supporter of the King, and I venture to suggest that they represent the three estates of the realm, or the three subjects mentioned in his Wellington Declaration, namely, the Protestant Religion, the laws of England, and the liberty of Parliament.

The second point is the value, which appears on all the coins with the exception of most of the half-crowns. Before this, on the higher denominations, it had never appeared, but probably Bushell inserted it on these to show that his medals had a monetary value. It is not found on the half-crowns, which have the three plumes, possibly because there was no room for it.

The third point is the Declaration, which did very well for the medal, and also brought vividly before all those who handled these coins the actual objects for which both sides were fighting, though each looked upon them from a different standpoint.

The fourth point is the introduction of the date, which is extremely useful to us from a numismatic point of view, and was a reintroduction of its use, though some twenty years had to elapse before it became a settled thing. During the reigns of Charles's two predecessors it had appeared on the sixpences and some smaller coins, but this was discontinued in 1630. Before that time it had appeared on the higher denominations of Edward VI and Mary. It will be noticed that on the obverses there are three varieties of horsemen, namely, the Aberystwith, Tower, Hawkins Type 3*a*, and what I have called the Shrewsbury. The question now arises, as regards the first two, how did these Tower irons appear on what are obviously locally made dies? Miss Farquhar tells us in "Nicholas Briot and the Civil War," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 4th Series,

Vol. XIV, pp. 188-9, that puncheons had been smuggled out of the mint, so doubtless these irons were among them. The third horse-man, from its coarseness, must have been locally made.

It is unfortunate that the names of the engravers employed to prepare the dies have not been preserved. It is evident that more than one was engaged, as the style on the different types varies. Those with the fat plumes are decidedly superior to the others. Nicholas Briot, Miss Farquhar tells us, was at the Tower during this time, and it is very doubtful whether he could have prepared them. Another name that can be suggested is that of Rawlins. It is not known exactly when he entered the King's service, but the obverse of the Oxford Pound, Hawkins No. 4, with the large horse, coined later in the year, is attributed to him. The reverse of this coin is the Shrewsbury No. 4, which happens to have these fat plumes. Of course it may have been an accident that this reverse should have appeared with this particular obverse, but in my own mind I have an idea that he engraved all the reverses with this peculiar form of plume. No matter who engraved them, we are thankful to the unknown artists for designing this delightful series of most interesting coins, and we must not forget the master who superintended and directed the whole work, Thomas Bushell.

TABLE A.  
OBVERSES WITH REVERSES.

|                 |                          | A    | B          | C    | D             |   |      |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------|------------|------|---------------|---|------|
| Pounds ...      | { Obverses with Reverses | 2, 4 | 3          | 1    | 2, 4          |   |      |
| Half-pounds ... | { Obverses with Reverses | 6    | 1, 4, 5    | 3    | 2             | 2 | 3, 6 |
| Crowns ...      | { Obverses with Reverses | 4    | 1, 3, 4, 5 | 2    |               |   |      |
| Half-crowns ... | { Obverses with Reverses | 1    | 4, 8       | 2, 3 | 2, 3, 4, 5, 9 | 3 | 7, 8 |
| Shillings ...   | { Obverses with Reverses | 1    | 1, 2       |      |               |   |      |

TABLE B.

## REVERSES WITH OBVERSES.

|             |     |   |                              |           |           |              |           |        |             |        |           |        |
|-------------|-----|---|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------|-------------|--------|-----------|--------|
| Pounds      | ... | { | Reverses<br>with<br>Obverses | 1<br>C    | 2<br>A, D | 3<br>B       | 4<br>A, D |        |             |        |           |        |
| Half-pounds | ... | { | Reverses<br>with<br>Obverses | 1<br>B    | 2<br>D, E | 3<br>C, F    | 4<br>B    | 5<br>B | 6<br>A, E   |        |           |        |
| Crowns      | ... | { | Reverses<br>with<br>Obverses | 1<br>B    | 2<br>C    | 3<br>B       | 4<br>A, B | 5<br>B |             |        |           |        |
| Half-crowns | ... | { | Reverses<br>with<br>Obverses | 1<br>A    | 2<br>C, D | 3<br>C, D, E | 4<br>B, D | 5<br>D | 6<br>Oxford | 7<br>F | 8<br>B, F | 9<br>D |
| Shillings   | ... | { | Reverses<br>with<br>Obverses | 1<br>A, B | 2<br>B    |              |           |        |             |        |           |        |

TABLE C.

## GROUPS OF PELLETS DENOMINATED MINT-MARKS.

1. • Pound, Half-pound, Crown and Half-crown, on both sides; Shilling on reverse only.
2. : Pound on both sides; Half-pound, Crown, Half-crown, and Shilling on reverse only.
3. .. Half-pound and Half-crown on both sides, and Crown on reverse only.
4. :: Half-pound on obverse only.
5. ::• Pound on obverse only; Half-pound and Half-crown on reverse only.
6. ::• Half-pound on reverse only.
7. ::• Pound and Crown on both sides; Half-pound on obverse only.
8. ::•• Half-crown on obverse only.
9. ::••• Crown and Half-crown on reverse only.
10. ::••• Crown on reverse only. See note to reverse No. 4.
11. ::••• Half-pound and Half-crown on reverse only.
12. ::••• Half-pound on both sides; Half-crown on reverse only.

EXPLANATION OF THE PLATES.

PLATE I.

|    |        |            |           |     |
|----|--------|------------|-----------|-----|
| 1. | Pound. | Obverse A. | Mint-mark | ::: |
| 2. | "      | " B.       | "         | .   |
| 3. | "      | " C.       | "         | :   |
| 4. | "      | " D.       | "         | ::. |
| 5. | "      | " D.       | Damaged   | ::. |
| 6. | "      | Reverse 1. | Mint-mark | :   |
| 7. | "      | " 2.       | "         | .   |
| 8. | "      | " 3.       | "         | :   |
| 9. | "      | " 4.       | "         | ::: |

PLATE II.

|     |             |            |           |        |                |
|-----|-------------|------------|-----------|--------|----------------|
| 10. | Half-pound. | Obverse A. | Mint-mark | :::    |                |
| 11. | "           | " B.       | "         | ::::   |                |
| 12. | "           | " C.       | "         | .      |                |
| 13. | "           | " D.       | "         | ::     |                |
| 14. | "           | " E.       | "         | ::     |                |
| 15. | "           | " F.       | "         | Plume. |                |
| 16. | "           | Reverse 1. | "         | ::::   |                |
| 17. | "           | " 2.       | "         | .      | (Coarse work). |
| 18. | "           | " 2.       | "         | .      | (Fine work).   |
| 19. | "           | " 3.       | "         | :      |                |
| 20. | "           | " 4.       | "         | ::.    |                |
| 21. | "           | " 6.       | "         | ::::   |                |

PLATE III.

|     |        |            |           |      |
|-----|--------|------------|-----------|------|
| 22. | Crown. | Obverse A. | Mint-mark | :::  |
| 23. | "      | Reverse 1. | "         | .    |
| 24. | "      | " 2.       | "         | .    |
| 25. | "      | " 3.       | "         | :    |
| 26. | "      | " 4.       | "         | :::  |
| 27. | "      | " 5.       | "         | :::: |

|     |             |            |           |        |
|-----|-------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| 28. | Half-crown. | Obverse A. | Mint-mark | Book.  |
| 29. | "           | " B.       | "         | ••••   |
| 30. | "           | " C.       | "         | •      |
| 31. | "           | " D.       | "         | ••     |
| 32. | "           | " E.       | "         | ••     |
| 33. | "           | " F.       | "         | Plume. |

## PLATE IV.

|     |             |             |           |              |
|-----|-------------|-------------|-----------|--------------|
| 34. | Half-crown. | Reverse 1.  | Mint-mark | :            |
| 35. | "           | "           |           | •            |
| 36. | "           | " 2. (var.) | "         | •            |
| 37. | "           | " 3.        | "         | •            |
| 38. | "           | " 4.        | "         | •            |
| 39. | "           | " 5.        | "         | ••           |
| 40. | "           | " 6.        | "         | ••           |
| 41. | "           | " 7.        | "         | ••••         |
| 42. | "           | " 8.        | "         | ••••         |
| 43. | "           | " 9.        | "         | ••••         |
| 44. | Shilling.   | Obverse A.  | "         | Book.        |
| 45. | "           | " B.        | "         | Plume.       |
| 46. | "           | Reverse 1.  | "         | • (EXVRGAT). |
| 47. | "           | " 1.        | "         | • (EXVGAT).  |
| 48. | "           | " 2.        | "         | :            |

## APPENDIX.

DECLARATION MADE BY KING CHARLES I AT WELLINGTON, SHROPSHIRE,  
20TH SEPTEMBER, 1642.<sup>1</sup>

" I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I do hope for His blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true Reformed Protestant religion established in the Church of England; and, by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.

" I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just rights. And, if it please God, by His blessing on this army

<sup>1</sup> *Grant's British Battles*, vol. I, p. 213.

raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise in the sight of God to maintain the just privileges and freedom of Parliament ; and to govern to the utmost of my power by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom, and particularly to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent in this Parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it shall be imputed by God and man to the authors of this war, and not to me, who have so honestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.

“ When I wilfully fail in these particulars, I shall expect no aid or relief from man, nor any protection from above ; but in this resolution, I hope for the cheerful assistance of all good men, and am confident of the blessing of Heaven.”





## A GRANBY MEDAL.

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, F.S.A.

**T**HE Granby medals, two in gold and two in silver, were awarded to four gentlemen cadets of the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, at the first public examination of which any record can be traced.<sup>1</sup> This was held at that institution on June 5th, 1765, in the presence of the Most Honourable the Marquis of Granby, Master-General of the Ordnance, the Right Honourable the Lieutenant-General, and the principal officers of His Majesty's Ordnance.



GRANBY MEDAL.

Obverse.—The King's head, laureate, in profile to the right ; legend :  
AVSPICIIS GEORG · III · OPT · PRINC · P · P · On truncation  
of neck, T · PINGO · F

Reverse.—The figure of Minerva with her proper attributes ; legend :  
PRAEMIA LAVDI · In exergue, in three lines, D · M · GRANBY  
MAG · GEN · ORD · MDCCLXV ·

Thirty-five cadets were examined. The three oldest were 19 years of age, and the youngest 14. One had been five years

<sup>1</sup> *Records of the Royal Military Academy*, 1851, p. 17.

at the Academy, four three years, the rest shorter periods varying to four months. They were divided into four classes, the fourth being the most advanced.

They appear to have been examined in the following subjects :—

|           | Under the<br>Professor<br>of<br>Fortification.              | Cadets. | Under the<br>Professor<br>of<br>Mathematics<br>and<br>Geography. | Cadets. | Under<br>the<br>Drawing<br>Master. | Cadets. | Under the<br>Master of<br>Classics,<br>Writing and<br>Common<br>Arithmetic. | Cadets. |
|-----------|---|---------|--|---------|------------------------------------|---------|---|---------|
| 1st Class | Drawing lines and constructing Artillery                    | 9       | Single equations algebra   | 6       | Landscapes in black lead           | 18      | Multiplication, Division and Reduction                                      | 5       |
| 2nd Class | Beginning to shade and break ground                         | 9       | Quadratic equations  | 4       | Landscapes                         | 6       | The Golden Rule and Practice  | 6       |
| 3rd Class | Shading, breaking ground and beginning the attack of places | 9       | Geometry   | 3       | Landscapes and perspective         | 7       | Square and Cube Root  | 4       |
| 4th Class | Attack and defence of places and constructing Artillery     | 8       | Trigonometry, Mensuration, and Conic Sections                    | 2       | Landscapes and perspective         | 4       | Fractions   | 5       |

The medals were adjudged to the following :—

Gold, to Thomas Hyde Page and John Cridland.

Silver, to Charles Green and Thomas Nepean.

The names of the successful competitors and the date, 5th June MDCCLXV, were inscribed on the edge of their respective medals.

None of these cadets ever joined the Royal Regiment of Artillery. They had the misfortune to be cadets just after the close of the Seven Years' War, 1756-63. During that period the regiment had increased from eighteen companies to thirty; but after the war the establishment of each company was reduced, and the officers thus made supernumerary were, according to the rules of the Service, placed on half-pay and were re-absorbed as vacancies occurred. Owing to this reason no less than fifty-six lieutenant-fireworkers were placed on half-pay, and it took some five years to absorb them. Conse-

quently, between February, 1763, and March, 1768, no first appointments were made. It will be thus understood that the cadets who won the medals in June, 1765, had to look elsewhere for their future careers; what these were is unknown to the writer. The rank of lieutenant-fireworker was discontinued after January 1st, 1771. From that time no prize medals were awarded until 1861, when, on the closing of the East India Company's Military College at Addiscombe, the Pollock gold medal was transferred to the Royal Military Academy and adjudged to the cadet who passes out first of the senior class at the examination held at the conclusion of each term.

The donor of these medals—John Manners, Marquis of Granby, one of His Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Colonel of His Majesty's Royal Regiment of Horse Guards, Lieutenant-General of His Majesty's Forces and Master-General of the Ordnance, as he was described at that time in official documents—was the eldest son of the third Duke of Rutland, and was born in 1718. He entered the Army at an early age, was present at the battle of Culloden, 1746, and served with distinction through the Seven Years' War, during the latter part of which he was Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in Germany. At the conclusion of the war he was appointed Master-General of the Ordnance, and afterwards became Commander-in-Chief, and a Cabinet Minister, during the Premiership of the Duke of Grafton. In 1770 he resigned all his appointments, as he disapproved the action of the Cabinet in the prosecution of John Wilkes, and died a few months afterwards. He never succeeded to the dukedom, as he predeceased his father, who lived until 1779. The Marquis of Granby was most popular with all ranks of society, and one evidence of this is the fact that so many public-houses and inns were named after him, and that these signs have survived till the present time.

The illustration of the medal is taken from a specimen struck in copper.







GOLD COLLAR AND CROSS, PRESENTED TO THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

THE GOLD COLLARS, MEDALS AND CROSSES GRANTED  
TO BRITISH OFFICERS BY THE CROWN OF PORTUGAL  
IN THE PENINSULAR WAR.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

**I**N the order of the day, March 28th, 1820, an official announcement was made to the Portuguese Army that, by a decree of June 28th, 1816, His Majesty, King John VI, had created collars, medals, and crosses to reward the services of officers who had fought in the Peninsular War.

The following is a translation of the decree :—

I, having taken into my Royal consideration the remarkable service that the Generals, Commanders of Regiments and other officers have rendered me in the chief battles which were fought, and the sieges which were carried on in the kingdom of Portugal, Spain, and France by the Portuguese troops and those of the Allies against the French, chiefly on account of the influence that such battles and sieges had on the result of the war, which restored my kingdom of Portugal and that of Spain to their ancient liberty, and contributed so much to the general peace of Europe: I, wanting to perpetuate the memory and names of the above-mentioned Generals and officers, distinguishing each of them in accordance with the number of actions in which they took part and in which they have deserved special references for their gallantry, have deigned to grant to the Generals who assisted in ten or more of the chief actions, a collar formed of tablets bearing the Portuguese arms of My



United Kingdom, with the names of each of the memorable battles and sieges of the above-mentioned war engraved on them: this collar will be bestowed only on those generals who had the rank of Field Marshal, and who took part in the battles for which it is granted. To those who have only taken part in less than ten battles a Medal will be bestowed with my Royal Effigy, surrounded by as many olive leaves as the number of the battles and sieges in which the general or officer to whom it is granted may have taken part, the names of the actions being engraved on the leaves:—

Finally, to those who have only taken part in one or two of those battles and sieges I will give a medal, with one or two olive leaves crossed, on which the names of the actions will be engraved, all of which will be more minutely shown by the sketches and instructions which will be published together with this decree, and will be signed by the Marquis of Aguiar, of My Council of State, the Minister, temporarily representing the Board of Foreign affairs and that of War.

Given at our Palace of Rio de Janeiro on the 28th of June, 1816, with the signature of His Majesty. Let this be accomplished and registered. At the Palace of Rio de Janeiro the 1st of July, 1816. With the signature of His Excellency the Marquis of Aguiar.

#### INSTRUCTIONS

relating to the Decree of the 28th of June, 1816.

ARTICLE I.—Chief battles fought and sieges carried on in the Peninsula and France in which the Portuguese troops took part—

1st, Vimiero; 2nd, Corunna; 3rd, Talavera; 4th, Busaco; 5th, Fuentes d' Onoro; 6th, Albuhera; 7th, Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo; 8th, Siege of Badajoz; 9th, Salamanca; 10th, Vittoria; 11th, Pyrenees;

12th, Siege of St. Sebastian ; 13th, Nivelle ; 14th, Nive ;  
15th, Orthes ; 16th, Toulouse.

ARTICLE II.—Conditions required of the generals and officers to entitle them to the distinctions created by the above Decree.

*First.*

The distinctions or medals will only be bestowed on fighting officers.

*Second.*

Only the battles and sieges above mentioned can be presented as a claim for collars or medals. No other fights or services can be advanced for the distinctions afforded by this Decree.

*Third.*

The distinctions will be granted to the commander of a regiment of cavalry or infantry, or of a battalion of cascadores, or of a brigade of artillery, who may have been with his troops at one of the actions above specified, the whole or the greater part of the troops having effectively fought there, in accordance with the nature of the arm to which the troops belonged.

*Fourth.*

Every officer who has commanded such a force as is mentioned above, at some of the sixteen battles and sieges already referred to, having legally got the command, on account of the death of his superior or of his having received severe wounds, will have a right to the distinction which belongs to him according to his new rank, if his troops have fought under him, without prejudice to the rights of the commander who retired on account of his wounds.

*Fifth.*

The generals who may have commanded any division or brigades, which for the most part have been employed and have fought in the above-mentioned actions, as it is stated, will have also a right to the distinctions granted for each of them.

*Sixth.*

The superior officers who shall have, during the battle, commanded at headquarters or shall have done so temporarily, will also have the right to the distinction given for the above-mentioned battles or sieges.

*Seventh.*

All the officers attached to a general, who receives the distinction, and who shall have been with him in the battles or sieges for which their general receives it, if they have the grade of major, or another superior to it, will have the right to the distinction for such a battle.

*Eighth.*

The officers of the adjutant-general and quartermaster-general's departments, who shall have exercised the function of chiefs of departments in any division shall have the right to the distinction if they have the rank of majors.

*Ninth.*

The marshal commander in chief of the army will inform His Majesty as soon as possible, through the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and for War, about the names and rank of the persons to whom, in accordance with the above instructions, are granted the distinctions with which His Majesty has deigned to honour the officers who may be found comprehended in these paragraphs, stating also the battles and sieges for which each of them has merited them.

*Tenth.*

If any officer to whom the distinction is granted shall afterwards think himself prejudiced, either by not having been rewarded or by having been omitted from any of the actions in which he has taken part, and will send his claim to His Majesty in accordance with the established rules, his petition will first be brought to the notice of the Marshal, who will afterwards bring it to His Majesty's notice.

---

*First.*

The generals to whom His Majesty will grant the collar will wear it upon their breasts, hanging from their shoulders.

*Second.*

The officers on whom the medal will be bestowed will wear it hanging from a ribbon attached to the jacket, on the right side of their breasts.

---

Regulations ruling the grant of the crosses to the army that effectively served against the enemy in the long Peninsular War in the campaigns of 1809, 1810, 1811, 1812, 1813 and 1814.

*First.*

All officers, of whatever grade they may be, who were present and effectively served with their regiments, or on the staff, in the operations against the enemy for four or more of the six campaigns, namely :—

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1st campaign, 1809. | 4th campaign, 1812. |
| 2nd campaign, 1810. | 5th campaign, 1813. |
| 3rd campaign, 1811. | 6th campaign, 1814. |

will have in accordance with the rules here established, a cross of gold, shaped as it is shown by the sketch No. 1, which will be worn on the left side of the breast hanging from a ribbon bearing the national colour.

*Second.*

All the officers who, in the same way as is above stated, shall have served in two or three of the above campaigns, will receive a cross of silver, shaped as is shown by the sketch No. 2, which will be worn as that of gold.

*Third.*

A cross of silver, shaped as is shown by the model No. 3, will be bestowed on the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who shall have served in two or more campaigns at the following rate:—

- 200 for every regiment of infantry.
- 120 for every battalion of cacades.
- 25 for every squadron of cavalry.
- 30 for every brigade of artillery.
- 25 for every company of engineering workmen.

The regiments that were in garrison at any of the chief fortresses, or at those of second order, which were threatened by the enemy for six months—the least time for which a campaign lasts—will be considered as having served in that campaign in which the enemy was, provided the fortress were not taken.

The officers of the militia, who shall have served in two or more of those campaigns, will also get the above distinction. 100 crosses will be bestowed in every regiment for non-commissioned officers and soldiers.

*Fourth.*

No officer will have a right to the cross for any campaign if in his regiment or elsewhere his conduct has been bad

when the army was before the enemy, unless he has been absolved from such a shame by a court-martial.

*Fifth.*

Non-commissioned officers and soldiers who have a right to the cross will be chosen first rather amongst those more conspicuous for their intelligence and gallantry ; then amongst those who prove more diligent, honest and careful in their service.

These crosses, after the deaths of the officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers on whom they were bestowed, will belong to their families as a remembrance of the good and valuable services for which they were granted ; but they cannot be worn but by the persons on whom they were bestowed.

General-Adjutant, Mozinto.

It will have been noticed in reading this Decree that only those officers who held the rank of Field-Marshal, and had been present at ten or more of the chief engagements, were entitled to the collar. It is on record in the Portuguese archives that only two officers received this great reward, namely, Field-Marshal General the Duke of Vittoria, Lord Wellington, for thirteen battles and sieges, inscribed VIMIERO, TALAVERA, BUSACO, FUENTES D' ONOR, CIUDAD RODRIGO, BADAJOZ, SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, PYRENEES NIVELLE, NIVE, ORTHES, TOULOUSE ; and Field-Marshal General Marquis of Compo Major, Lord Beresford, also for twelve engagements — CORUNNA, BUSACO, ALBUHERA, CIUDAD RODRIGO, BADAJOZ, SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, PYRENEES, NIVELLE, NIVE, ORTHES, TOULOUSE.

I am informed by a Portuguese friend that considerable research has been made by more than one historian to trace the designer or maker of these two collars. Unfortunately the order granting them gives no sketches, although such are supplied in the case of the medals.

Did Wellington or Beresford ever receive these collars? On enquiring recently at Apsley House I was informed that no collar exists that was presented by Portugal, except that of the Order of the Tower and Sword. I find no mention of these collars made by either Sir Nicholas Carlisle, Burke, or Tancred; neither does a collar figure in the book *The Orders of Knighthood, Batons and Medals conferred upon His Grace the Duke of Wellington*, although this work is fully illustrated, and was compiled by one of the Duke's aides-de-camp and assistant military secretaries. Mayo, in his *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy*, gives particulars of two collars as follows:—

#### DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

##### GOLD COLLAR AND CROSS.

The collar is composed of alternate gold lions and oval tablets showing the Union badge in enamel, bordered by a wreath of oak leaves. Across each tablet, on the horizontal bar of the Union, is the name of a battle or siege, the tablet bearing "Waterloo" being at the bottom. Below the "Waterloo" tablet hangs a royal crown to which is suspended a gold cross, generally similar in design to the Gold Cross (Peninsula) but much larger, and having a figure of Victory on one side, and a lion on the other. The collar is held together by two chains of long links attached above and below to the lions and tablets. The lions and tablets are each about two inches in length. The names on the tablets are as follows:—(right)—CIUDAD RODRIGO, BADAJOZ, SALAMANCA, VITTORIA, TOULOUSE, PYRENEES, NIVELLE, ORTHES, NIVE, WATERLOO.

The cross is Maltese, two and a half inches across, with ornamental borders; on one side is a figure of Victory, and on the other a lion. On the four limbs of the cross, on the side bearing the figure of Victory, are the names of the following actions:—

ROLEIA and VIMIERA, TALAVERA, BUSACO, FUENTES D' ONOR.

These, together with those named on the collar, are the actions at which the Duke was present.

On the edges of the two sides and bottom of the cross is the inscription, "Field-Marshal Arthur Duke of Wellington."

The collar is amongst the Wellington heirlooms preserved at Apsley House. The following is the entry in the Heirloom Catalogue regarding it :—

"Massy gold and enameled Triumphant collar, composed of alternate Lions and Medallions (each of the latter having the name of a battle inscribed on it), with badge or cross appended to it. Presented to His Grace by His Majesty King George the 4th. when Prince Regent, shortly after the Battle of Waterloo."

Sir Albert W. Woods, Garter King of Arms, had in his possession a memorandum relative to the collar drawn up by Sir George Nayler, Garter, for Sir William Knighton, Baronet, Keeper of the Privy Purse to George IV. The memorandum is undated, but it was evidently not written until after the death of the Duke of York (5th January, 1827). It states that in the year 1814, in obedience to the commands of His Majesty, then Prince Regent, drawings were prepared under Sir George's direction, of a collar intended to be presented to the Duke of Wellington, in commemoration of the glorious victories personally achieved by His Grace in the Peninsula ; and His Majesty having been pleased to approve of a collar composed of lions of England and the Union badge of the United Kingdom (which badge had been before granted by His Majesty as an augmentation to the Duke's arms), having in the centre of the cross of St. George the names of ten of those battles inscribed, as worn by His Grace on gold clasps, the collar



was duly made. To the collar was afterwards added, in pursuance of His Majesty's pleasure, a cross pendent, inscribed with the names of the other four battles on the military gold cross worn by His Grace, having in the centre, on one side, a figure of Victory, and on the other side a British lion. In the present memorandum, Sir George Nayler submits the collar and cross to the King, with a humble request for His Majesty's gracious commands in regard to them.

There is thus no doubt that the idea of the collar originated before the battle of Waterloo, though for some reason it did not take effect until more than ten years after that battle.

The collar should therefore have been described as having been presented to the Duke of Wellington by George IV., and not by the Prince Regent as stated. But the information derived from Sir G. Nayler's memorandum was not at the author's disposal before the Plate was printed.

Sir Albert Woods possesses also a detailed coloured drawing of the collar and cross, together with a rough pen-and-ink sketch of them made by Sir G. Nayler, showing that in all probability he was the designer of the whole decoration.

It is understood that the collar was made for the King by Messrs. Rundell and Bridge, of London.

#### MARSHAL VISCOUNT BERESFORD.

##### COLLAR AND CROSS.

This collar is composed of alternate lions and oval tablets bearing the Union badge bordered with laurel; in the centre, a crown; pendent from this is a cross similar to the Peninsular gold cross. The collar is held together by two chains of long links running above and below, and attached to the lions and tablets. The lions and tablets

are about two inches in length. The lions are similar to the royal crest of England.

This collar is shown on a bust of Viscount Beresford which was exhibited at the Royal Military Exhibition at Chelsea in 1890. What is the history of the collar we have not hitherto been able to discover, nor have we been able to learn whether it is now in existence.

From the above description it will be seen that this collar bears a general resemblance to that given to the Duke of Wellington by George IV.

A portrait of Beresford, here illustrated, was painted by Sir William Beechey, R.A., and afterwards engraved by Charles Turner,



**MARSHAL VISCOUNT BERESFORD.**

which depicts him wearing the collar. Is it possible that these two collars, of which so little is known, were those granted by Portugal? In the absence of more definite proof I suggest that most probably they were. My reason for this assumption is that both collars are the same in design, except for two or three minor points, namely, the Waterloo medallion on the Wellington collar in place of a crown on Beresford's, for the latter was not present at the final overthrow of Napoleon. The crosses may or may not be exactly the same, as Beechey, in the above-mentioned portrait of Beresford, has shown a lion, as on the reverse of the Wellington, but it is quite evident from the Naylor memorandum that some alteration to the design of the cross was made after Waterloo.

It must be remembered that the officers who were granted the medals and crosses by the Portuguese Court had to pay for them out of their own purses, which accounts for most of the badges to British officers being of English design and make. I venture to think that this is also the reason why the collars were made in London and paid for, as would appear from Mayo, out of the Privy Purse. There is a note in the diary of Major-General Sir Alexander Dickson that at the King's levée on March 21st, 1821, Colonel Harvey<sup>1</sup> wore his "cross, being of gold, VI in the centre, which he had had made at his own expense." The names of the battles and sieges on the Wellington collar are those recorded in the archives at Lisbon, but I have no means of comparing the list with those on Beresford's, as only four links are shown in the picture.

No other British or Portuguese officer than Wellington and Beresford holding the rank of field-marshal was present in the Peninsular War, yet both these officers possess collars for actions recorded in the decree. If these are not the Portuguese collars it is strange that a second reward should have been presented by the English Court for the same events, because both officers were already in possession of the Peninsular gold cross with a number of bars. I am told that the Great Duke never wore this collar, which would hardly have been the case if George IV had presented it, for the

<sup>1</sup> Robert John Harvey, *C. Med.*, p. 10.



*To face page 229.*



3.



5.



4.

FIG. 3.—OFFICER'S MEDAL.

FIG. 4.—MEDAL FOR TWO ACTIONS.

FIG. 5.—MEDAL FOR EIGHT ACTIONS.

PENINSULAR DECORATIONS.

Duke must have appeared many times in the immediate presence of his Sovereign at court functions, and Peninsular and Waterloo dinners. It seems incredible that such a high mark of distinction should have been shelved, however much the Duke was averse to personal adornment. Whatever may be said against this suggestion the facts remain :—

That Portugal granted collars to Wellington and Beresford for services in the Peninsular War.

That these two officers alone possessed special collars for services in the Peninsula, and both were similar in design.

That neither officer possessed the Portuguese commander's cross.

Having brought this question to notice, I hope that further research will be made to elucidate the history of these unique and interesting awards.

The second decoration in the decree was granted only to commanding officers, and juniors who held a command during an action in which the senior officer had been killed or wounded. So confused are the descriptions of these medals given by some of the earlier writers on military decorations that collectors must have searched in vain for specimens. I have therefore had diagrams prepared showing some of the various shapes in which the commanders' medals were made, and these will convey a correct idea of the various models.

One hundred and sixty-one gold and enamelled medals were granted to Portuguese and British officers. The specimen for one action illustrated as Fig. 3 is the medal worn by Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Crookshank, who commanded the 12th Caçadore at the battle of Salamanca. Both sides of the medal are alike. In the centre is a green enamelled laurel leaf, inscribed SALAMANCA, within a wreath enamelled blue; it was worn with a pale blue and white

ribbon and gold buckle. Twenty-six British officers' names are recorded in the grant for this medal, viz. :—

|                        |                 |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| 4 for Busaco.          | 2 for Vittoria. |
| 2 for Fuentes d' Onor. | 5 for Pyrenees. |
| 1 for Albuhera.        | 2 for Nive.     |
| 1 for Badajoz.         | 2 for Orthes.   |
| 4 for Salamanca.       | 3 for Toulouse. |

The medal for two actions, shown in Fig. 4. is that of Lieutenant-Colonel John McDonald, of the 92nd Highlanders, who commanded a Portuguese Brigade. It is an English hand-made medal, consisting of a gold disc with a rim soldered upon it, and two enamelled leaves inscribed VITORIA, PYRENEOS. on the obverse ; the reverse is plain. This medal is not according to the sketches in the Portuguese archives, which are similar to that for one action, namely, a pierced centre, but with two leaves, instead of one, and both sides alike. Fifteen British officers were granted this decoration.

The medal for three to ten actions is more in the form of a star, and consisted of three or more white enamelled forked limbs joined together by an olive wreath. On each of the limbs is a green enamelled leaf inscribed with the name of a battle or siege. In the centre a bust of King John VI in gold on a blue enamelled ground within a gold circle. Reverse, limbs as on the obverse, in the centre the initials of the owner.

The beautiful and very rare specimen for eight actions, illustrated as Fig. 5, was granted to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Robert Arbuthnot, K.C.B., Military Secretary to Lord Beresford, who was also granted the cross for six campaigns. Medals of this class were granted to British officers as follows :—

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 15 for 3 actions. | None for 7 actions. |
| 13 for 4 actions. | 2 for 8 actions.    |
| 4 for 5 actions.  | 2 for 9 actions.    |
| 4 for 6 actions.  | 2 for 10 actions.   |

Taking these figures to be correct, the total number of commanders' medals issued to English officers was only eighty-three

of a grand total of one hundred and sixty-one granted to Portuguese and British.

It will have been noticed that those for more than four actions are exceedingly rare, and the largest number is for ten ; but the



PORTRAIT OF SIR HENRY HARDINGE (FIRST VISCOUNT HARDINGE), SHOWING THE  
COMMANDER'S MEDAL FOR TEN ACTIONS WORN BY HIM.

celebrated Sir Denis Pack had a commander's medal for eleven actions, which agrees with his Peninsular gold cross and bars, but his name does not appear in the Portuguese list of commanders, yet he commanded a brigade of Portuguese at the battle of Busaco,



and was entitled to the campaign cross for four years, which was not amongst his decorations when catalogued some few years ago.

My Portuguese friend told me that a good deal of abuse crept in with regard to the number of actions recorded on the medals, chiefly through officers providing their own badges. This led to legal proceedings being taken against those Portuguese who had included actions not in the grant, or who possessed a commander's medal but had never held a command. I know of one example of an English officer falling into this error. Richard Brunton, who never held a command, but was entitled to the campaign cross for three years, apparently had a commander's medal made for eight actions, which included three names not in the grant; also his campaign cross is for four years' service instead of three. Both these decorations are made to wear round the neck, whereas they were ordered to be worn on the breast. Brunton did not obtain his company until 1813; he was promoted to major in 1826, and lieutenant-colonel in 1830, which is a proof that he did not command at the actions enumerated on the medal.

The campaign crosses were issued in silver for one to three years, and in gold for four to six years' war service.

Those made in Portugal are quite distinct from the English make: the former are more ornate, whilst the latter are after the style and finish of the British Peninsular cross.

The Portuguese design, illustrated as Fig. 7, is a Maltese cross with horizontal lines on the limbs within an ornamental border, with enamelled laurels in the angles; and in the centre of the obverse are the United Arms of Portugal and Brazil within a blue enamel band inscribed, GUERRA PENINSULAR. In the centre of the reverse is a figure, which indicates the number of campaigns, within a laurel wreath. The cross was worn with a purple-blue ribbon edged rose-pink.

The English pattern, illustrated as Fig. 6, is a Maltese cross with a border formed of laurels running between an outer and inner burnished line, and in the centre Roman numerals within a laurel wreath. Reverse, GUERRA PENINSULAR in three lines,

*To face page 232.*



6.

FIG. 6.—ENGLISH-MADE CROSS.



7.

FIG. 7.—THE PORTUGUESE DESIGN.

PENINSULAR DECORATIONS.





Figure 1: A 3D surface plot showing the function  $f(x, y, z)$  over the domain  $[0, 1] \times [0, 1] \times [0, 1]$ . The surface is characterized by multiple local maxima and minima, indicating a non-convex optimization problem.





To face page 233.

Lieut: Col: James Johnston  
of the 99<sup>th</sup> Regiment. This  
gallant Officer died at Mombasa  
Lodge Portobello on Tuesday  
last. He obtained the war  
medal with 9 clasps for  
the battles of Solera, Tinniera,  
Salaverra, Badajoz, Salamanca,  
Vitoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle,  
and Albuhera. He had  
conferred on him, the Portuguese  
order of the Tower and Sword -  
and the Command medal  
of Portugal for Vitoria, Pyrenees  
and Nivelle. J. C. Hemans

17<sup>th</sup> Nov 1861

A NOTE, DATED 1861, SHOWING THAT THE SO-CALLED COMMANDER'S CROSS  
WAS KNOWN AS THE COMMANDER'S MEDAL.

and suspender as on the English Peninsular cross, with ribbon and gold buckle.

The total number of campaign crosses granted was 1745, and of these 1535 were to Portuguese and 210 to British officers. None of the latter's names are recorded for less than two campaigns, of which there were seventy-five, the list being :—

|                     |                     |
|---------------------|---------------------|
| 75 for 2 campaigns. | 26 for 5 campaigns. |
| 61 for 3 campaigns. | 6 for 6 campaigns.  |
| 42 for 4 campaigns. |                     |

No doubt some of the English officers obtained their crosses from Portugal. The specimen illustrated as Fig. 7 is of Portuguese workmanship and correct, according to official sketches. It was granted to Captain, afterwards Major, Thomas Smith of the Ninety-seventh Foot, and the edge is inscribed in Portuguese. This officer served in the Peninsula from July, 1808, to the end of the war, including the battles of Roleia, Vimiera, Busaco, and Fuentes d' Onor, the Siege of Ciudad Rodrigo, the second Siege and Storming of Badajoz, April 6th, 1812, and the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria, in which last-named action he was wounded in the left thigh. The English specimen, which is illustrated as Fig. 6, is for six campaigns, and is one of the rarest of military medals, for originally there were but six examples granted. It was awarded to General Sir John McDonald of the Ninety-second Highlanders, who has been already mentioned, and it is one of a group of the five decorations of that officer now in the possession of the officers' mess of the regiment.


The cross was made by John Smith and Son of Sheffield, and is hall-marked with the date letter of 1828, fourteen years after the conclusion of the war for which it was granted. This has no Portuguese arms or laurels in the angles, whilst the Brunton cross has both, and the latter I think is also of English manufacture. A closer study of the collars, medals, and crosses granted by the Portuguese Crown to British officers for services in the Peninsular War will well repay the connoisseur for any trouble it may involve.





LIEUTENANT-COLONEL RICHARD BRUNTON'S  
PORTUGUESE DECORATIONS FOR THE  
PENINSULAR WAR.

BY A. A. PAYNE, L.R.C.P., *etc.*

IEUTENANT-COLONEL RICHARD BRUNTON, it is claimed, had the honour of being awarded by King John VI. of Portugal the gold star or cross for commanders and the officers' cross for the Peninsular Campaign, instituted in 1816, and promulgated at the palace of Rio de Janeiro in the same year.

Only within the last two years have I been aware that this decree<sup>1</sup> and an official list of the recipients of these Portuguese decorations are extant, and through the courtesy and kindness of Major John H. Leslie I have been able to obtain a copy of each.

By article seven of the decree, referring to the commanders' gold star, it is stated that

All the officers attached to a general, who receives the distinction, and who shall have been with him in the battles or sieges for which their general receives it, if they have the grade of major, or another superior to it, will have the right to the distinction for such a battle.

The STAR, which is of gold, consists of eight arms with double points, enamelled white, and terminating in gold knobs, resting on a gold wreath of laurel on a blue enamelled ground, edged with gold. On each of the arms is an oval, enamelled green, on which is inscribed the name of one of the actions at which the recipient was

<sup>1</sup> The decree is set out in full in Mr. Winter's paper in this volume.

present, or eight in all, namely :—FUENTES D' ONORO, ARROYO DE MOLINOS, ALMARAZ, MAYA, VITTORIA, NIVELLE, PYRENEES, NIVE. In the centre of the obverse, within an ornamental gold band in relief, is the bust of King John VI of Portugal to the right, also in relief, and in gold, on a light blue enamelled ground. The reverse is similar, except that within the gold band, on a white enamelled ground, are the initials of the recipient—*R.B.*, for Richard Brunton.

The OFFICERS' CROSS is also of gold, and consists of four arms, one inch and eleven-twentieths in diameter, with broad ornamental borders, resting on a laurel wreath in green enamel, and surmounted by an ornamental projection for suspension. In the centre of the obverse, within a blue enamelled circle edged with gold and inscribed GUERRA PENINSULAR, are the arms of Portugal in gold, surmounted by a crown on a convex ground. The reverse is similar, except that in the centre, within a circle of laurel leaves, is IV, all in relief and in gold.

The star was worn suspended from a ribbon round the neck, and the officers' cross from a straight gold bar upon the left breast. The suspenders of Colonel Brunton's decorations having been lost, a gold loop has been added to each of them.

The campaigns for which the crosses were granted were for four or more of the six campaigns, namely :—

First campaign, 1809 ; second, 1810 ; third, 1811 ; fourth, 1812 ; fifth, 1813 ; and sixth, 1814.

For fewer than four campaigns the cross was to be of silver.

For the non-commissioned officers and men the cross had no laurel wreath, and was one inch and a tenth in diameter.

Colonel Brunton entered the army as ensign on the 10th of November, 1808, was appointed lieutenant in the Forty-third Foot on the 12th of December, 1809, captain in the Sixtieth on the 10th of November, 1813, and placed on half-pay on the 25th of December, 1818. He was appointed captain in the Thirteenth Light Dragoons on the 29th of April, 1819, major on the 2nd of March, 1826, and lieutenant-colonel of the Thirteenth on the 31st of December, 1830.

He sold out in 1845, and died on the 27th of July, 1846, at Bath.

Colonel Brunton served in the Peninsula from May, 1809, to February, 1814, and was with the Sixth Caçadors. At Waterloo he was deputy-assistant-quarter-master-general, and was wounded whilst defending the baggage.

As it may appear to some that, because the colonel did not attain his majority until 1826, he could not, therefore, be entitled to the commanders' star, it will be well to quote a statement from the *Narrative of the Peninsular War*,<sup>1</sup> by the Marquess of Londonderry :—

“ Much umbrage was taken, because the officers attached to the Portuguese Corps received, not only an additional step in the British Army, but a second advance, as soon as they took their places in the ranks of our Allies. By this arrangement a British Captain, who might happen to volunteer into the Portuguese Army, was promoted to a British Majority ; and was still further pushed on by receiving the Portuguese rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, immediately on his attaching himself to a Portuguese Battalion.”

Again, the Colonel's services, with the exact names of the actions enumerated on his commanders' star, are mentioned in his records in Hart's *Army List* from its publication in 1840 until the year 1845 when he retired from the army. Had he not been entitled to have these battles inscribed on his star it is scarcely probable that he would have had them thus recorded, and by so doing have rendered himself liable to be criticised by his fellow officers.

It is allowed that in most medal-rolls discrepancies, inaccuracies, and omissions occur, and I think in none more than those of foreign origin. Although, according to the list, Colonel Brunton is only credited with three campaigns, if he served from May, 1809, to February, 1814, he should certainly be entitled to at least four, as indicated by the number IV on his cross.

<sup>1</sup> Page 290.

It appears to me that in some instances mistakes have occurred through entering the officer's British rank instead of that of his Portuguese advancement.

Though all these awards were made at the same time, in the list of the recipients of the Cross is the name of George Murphy, as *tenente*, that is, lieutenant, whereas amongst the names of those who were awarded the star, the same officer is mentioned as a major. His full name should have been George Henry Edward Murphy, and he served with the Twenty-third Portuguese, receiving the gold medal for Toulouse, and the commanders' star for Nive and Toulouse. Notwithstanding that he served in the Peninsula from December, 1808, until the end of the war, according to the list he was only entitled to receive a cross for three campaigns.

An illustration in colours of the orders and honours "for Distinguished Service" conferred upon Major-General Sir Denis Pack, K.C.B., and on his son, Colonel Reynell Pack, C.B., which forms the frontispiece of *Sebastopol Trenches* by the latter and contains some twenty honours, shows the commanders' star awarded to General Pack. Upon it are inscribed the names of eleven actions, but, unfortunately, they are not clear enough to be deciphered.

Though the name of the General is amongst the list of brigadiers who received a cross for four campaigns, his name is not amongst those who were awarded the commanders' star. Neither is his officer's cross depicted in the illustration containing his other decorations.

These beautiful and rare decorations seldom find their way into collectors' cabinets. In Colonel A. E. Whitaker's collection there are two. One officer's cross for "V" campaigns, without a record of his name; another cross for "VI" campaigns, that belonged to Sir Richard Armstrong, C.B., yet the roll only allowed him the cross for "five campaigns."

In the late Colonel John Murray's collection were the commanders' star for four actions:—Fuentes d' Onor, Gariz, Pyrenees, and Orthes; and the same officer's cross for "VI" campaigns. Yet Gariz is not mentioned in the Official List, and the list, again, only allowed the Colonel the cross for five campaigns.

Colonel Murray also had in his collection the commanders' star for four actions awarded a Colonel William Henry Sewell, namely, Nivelles, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse ; and Colonel Sewell's officer's cross for " V " campaigns. Yet he also is not recorded in the list of recipients of the cross.

As a proof that many recipients had their decorations manufactured in England, I find that to the name of " Tenete-Colonel Roberto João Harvey " in the list, I have added a note :—" At the King's Levée, 21st March, 1821, Colonel Harvey wore his Cross, being of gold with VI in the centre. This he had had made at his own expense."

A further example is that at the distribution of the " Order of the Douranée Empire " in the citadel of Kabul, by Shah Sujah-ul-Mulk, on the 17th September, 1839, it was found that sufficient of the decorations had not been made, therefore those who had been selected to be thus honoured had to have their decorations manufactured at their own expense. It is also a well-known fact that after the Crimean campaigns many officers had a special die engraved for their Turkish medals.

Besides the Portuguese decorations of Colonel Brunton, I have still in my collection, amongst the eight honours awarded to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Edward Brackenbury, another gold officer's cross for IV campaigns. Also a silver cross for " 2 " campaigns, a silver gilt cross, without a number, bearing the arms of Portugal on both the obverse and reverse, and another silver-gilt cross for VI campaigns. Neither of these crosses bears the laurel wreath.

The case of Colonel William Mayne, K.T.S., is an instance in which an officer having held high rank in the Portuguese army, took a lower grade on again joining the British forces. After having attained the rank of major, he sold out in 1802. Afterwards he joined the Portuguese, and was placed in command of the Loyal Lusitania Legion in the Peninsular War. In 1809 he was in command of a body of 2000 men, which formed the advance of General Mackenzie's corps, composed of a militia regiment and the

Lusitania Legion. Yet we find him a lieutenant in the First Life Guards on the 26th of September, 1811, with which regiment he served at the Battle of Waterloo.

These explanations should, in my opinion, establish the validity and genuineness of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Brunton's decorations.

RELICS OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS LLOYD OF  
THE NINETY-FOURTH REGIMENT (NOW THE SECOND  
BATTALION THE CONNAUGHT RANGERS).

BY CHARLES WINTER.

**A**MONG the most interesting relics of the Napoleonic wars are the gold medal, for the battle of Salamanca, conferred upon Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lloyd, and the gold casket commemorative of his heroic death. They may be briefly described as follows :—

Gold medal for the battle of Salamanca with gold bar for Vittoria.

Obverse.—Britannia seated to left on a globe, holding in her right hand a laurel wreath, and in her left a palm branch. At her right hand stands the British lion ; to left is the Union shield.

Reverse.—SALAMANCA, within a laurel wreath.

Mounted in glass with  
gold rim engraved,  
MAJOR THOS.  
LLOYD.

Riband.—Crimson with blue edges, to which is attached a heavy gold bar, inscribed VITTORIA, within a laurel wreath.





The casket may be described as follows :—

Gold casket in the form of a sarcophagus, with engine-turned panels and borders consisting of roses, shamrocks,



and thistles, entwined with ribands. On the top of the lid is a model of the helmet of Mars, resting on the Union shield, which has a border of oak leaves and is laid on



a sword and spear in saltire, with a laurel wreath ; the whole raised above a border formed of laurels, with a scroll ornament at the four corners. At the ends, lions' masks with ring handles. On the front panel is engraved—

A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTION BY THE OFFICERS OF THE 94TH REGIMENT TO THE MEMORY OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL THOMAS LLOYD KILLED AT THE BATTLE OF THE NIVELLE IN FRANCE WHILE IN COMMAND OF THE CORPS ON THE 10TH OF NOVEMBER 1813 IN HIS THIRTIETH YEAR.



On the inside of the lid is engraved—

HE WAS ADORNED WITH TALENTS MUCH ADMIR'D · TO AN ELEGANT DIGNITY OF APPEARANCE HE ADDED GENTLE AND ENGAGING MANNERS · WITH A RARE MILDNESS OF TEMPER HE COMBINED THE MOST DETERMINED COURAGE · WHAT WE HAVE SEEN CAN WE FORGET ?

Major and Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Lloyd was born in Limerick, Ireland, and entered the Fifty-fourth Regiment on August 1st, 1797 ; he was promoted in the regiment to lieutenant May 6th, 1799, and captain in the Sixth Battalion of Reserve October 8th, 1803. On August 10th, 1804, he was transferred as captain to the Forty-third Regiment ; was promoted major in the Ninety-fourth Regiment on October 4th, 1810 ; and brevet lieutenant-colonel on August 17th, 1812. He commanded the old Ninety-fourth in the Peninsula from the date he actually joined (about January, 1812) to the date of his death, which took place whilst leading his regiment at the passage of the Nivelle on November 10th, 1813.

Napier, in his *History of the War in the Peninsula*, Book XXIII, says, "from some oversight the despatches did but scant and tardy justice to the light division . . . many brave men they lost, and of two who fell I will speak. The first, low in rank, for he was but a lieutenant, rich in honour, for he bore many scars, was young of days . . . Edward Freer of the Forty-third, struck with three balls at the first storming of the Rhune Rocks, and the sternest soldiers wept even in the middle of the fight when they saw him fall."

"On the same day and at the same hour was killed Colonel Thomas Lloyd. He likewise had been a long time in the Forty-third. Under him Freer had learned the rudiments of his profession; but in the course of the war promotion placed Lloyd at the head of the Ninety-fourth, and it was leading that regiment he fell. In him also were combined mental and bodily powers of no ordinary kind. Graceful symmetry, herculean strength, and a countenance frank and majestic, gave the true index of his nature for his capacity was great and commanding, and his military knowledge extensive both from experience and study. Of his mirth and wit, well known in the army, it only need be said he used the latter without offence, yet so as to increase his ascendancy over those with whom he held intercourse; for though gentle he was ambitious, valiant, and conscious of fitness for great exploits. And he, like Freer, was prescient of and predicted his own fall, but with no abatement of courage; for when he received the mortal wound, a most painful one, he would not suffer himself to be moved, and remained to watch the battle, making observations upon its changes until death came. It was thus, at the age of thirty, that the good, brave, generous Lloyd died. Tributes to his merit have been published by Wellington and by one of his own poor soldiers,<sup>1</sup> by the highest and by the lowest! To their testimony I add mine."

In Joseph Donalson's *Recollections of the Eventful Life of a Soldier*, chapter VII, he writes: "Lieutenant-Colonel Lloyd had joined us<sup>2</sup> from the Forty-third Regiment . . . no eulogium,

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Donalson.

<sup>2</sup> Ninety-fourth Scots Brigade.

however, of mine can convey an idea of his merit as a man and a soldier ; but it is deeply engraven on the hearts of those who served under him. So harmoniously did he blend the qualities of a brave, active, intelligent officer with those of the gentleman and the scholar, that the combination fascinated all ranks. His exterior corresponded with his mind : he was somewhat above the middle size, and to a face and head cast in the true Roman mould, was joined an elegant and manly body. His system of discipline was not coercive ; he endeavoured to encourage, not to terrify ; if there was a single spark of pride or honour in the bosom, he would fan it to a flame. His aim was to prevent crime rather than to punish it, and he rarely resorted to corporal punishment. When he did so it was only in the case of hardened ill-doers, with whom no lenient measures would succeed ; even then, he never punished to the tenth part of the sentence awarded ; and if the culprit sued for pardon, promising not to be guilty again, he would say, ' I take you at your word, and forgive you, but remember your promise.' The men's interest formed his chief study, and the complaint of the meanest individual was heard and investigated with the strictest impartiality without respect of persons. By the measures he took, he made every individual interested in his own honour and that of the regiment ; and I believe that every man in it loved and honoured him. So successful were his efforts, that he brought the regiment into a state of order, cleanliness, and discipline, which could never have been attained by any other means.

" He was always the first in danger and the last out of it ; and in camp, he went later to rest, and was sooner up than the meanest individual composing his corps . . . unfettered by cold, calculating selfishness, his noble heart and soul is seen in everything he does—such was Colonel Lloyd."


In Chapter IX Donalson gives the following account of Colonel Lloyd's death : " Having pushed his horse forward before the regiment ; he advanced cheering on his men with the most undaunted bravery, but before he reached its summit, he received a mortal wound in the breast, and was only saved from falling off his horse

by some of his men springing forward to his assistance . . . Thus fell the brave and noble Lloyd, in the vigour of manhood and the height of his fame, for his worth and services were well known, and duly appreciated by Lord Wellington. Though young, his extraordinary abilities had caused him to rise rapidly in the service, and had attracted the admiration of the army in which he served ; while his humanity and wise system of discipline endeared him to those he commanded . . . I never witnessed sorrow so general as that produced by the intelligence of his death ; our hearts were full ; we felt as if we had lost a father ; all his good qualities were recapitulated, and tears were shed in abundance during the recital."

The Scottish Brigade was raised in 1793-94, and was numbered the Ninety-fourth Regiment of Foot in 1803. After winning many laurels in India and the Peninsula, it was disbanded in 1818.

## WATERLOO MEDALS.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

FTER the final defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, the Government, at the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, decided to depart from the rule of conferring medals only upon the officers, and to issue a medal of one size and metal to all ranks of the British Army who were present during the three days' fighting, and to include the Thirty-fifth, Fifty-fourth, Fifty-ninth, and Ninety-first Regiments, with two brigades of Royal Artillery, who formed the reserve at Hal.

Several designs had been prepared, as it was at first intended to issue bronze medals to soldiers and a larger medal in gold to officers. The preparation of these designs was entrusted to Thomas Wyon, who engraved the portrait of the Prince Regent from a drawing by Sir Thomas Lawrence, and the figure of Victory on the reverse was taken from one of the beautiful Greek coins of Elis.<sup>1</sup> This latter design was selected by the Master of the Mint, Mr. W. W. Pole, who saw the coin in the collection of Sir Richard Paine.

The authorities, having decided to carry out the suggestion of the Duke, the metal chosen for the Waterloo medal was silver. Size,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  inch diameter.

Obverse.—A laureated bust of the Regent to left. Legend:  
GEORGE P. REGENT.

Reverse.—Figure of Victory with outspread wings, seated on a cippus; she holds in her right hand a palm branch, in her left an olive branch. On the base or platform is the word WATERLOO. Above, WELLINGTON; below, JUNE 18. 1815.

<sup>1</sup> See *British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, Peloponnesus, Elis*, page 64, No. 51, Plate XII, 9.

The edge is stamped, incuse, with the rank, name, and regiment of the recipient. The suspender is somewhat crude, consisting of a large common split key-ring, attached to the medal by a steel



clip. It was worn with a red riband,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inch wide, with blue borders, the colours being the same as those issued with the gold medals and crosses for the Peninsular War.

About 40,000 medals were struck, and the first instalment was reported by the Mint as being ready for delivery on March 4th, 1816.

The medal reproduced on the opposite page is that awarded to Serjeant Charles Ewart, of the 2nd or Royal North British Dragoons (Scots Greys), who captured the Eagle of the French 45th Regiment of the Line during the charge of the famous Union Brigade at Waterloo. Ewart carried the trophy into Brussels after the battle, and was rewarded with a commission. The combat figures in many pictures, the best known being the painting by Richard Ausdell, known as "The Fight for the Standard." Mr. E. E. Needes, who has kindly allowed me to reproduce this medal, writes: "As a collector of some years standing, it often occurred to me that this medal would be the most interesting one possible to acquire for this campaign, with, of course, the exception of the Duke of Wellington's, and it is not difficult to imagine my satisfaction when fortune gave me the opportunity of acquiring it, as until I actually saw it I had no knowledge that it was still preserved. The collecting of war medals is full of interest in so many ways, all of which appeal to me deeply, but by far the most attractive is what I consider the personal or 'sentimental' point of view, in which the particular specimen recalls a specific deed of bravery, or an historical event in which the recipient participated."

Regimentally, some Waterloo medals are exceedingly rare, and I suppose that that of the Royal Engineers is one of the rarest.

The bronze medal intended to have been issued to the soldiers was 1.42 inch diameter.

Obverse.—Laureated bust of the Regent, to left. Legend:  
GEORGE PRINCE REGENT 1815, the whole within an  
oak wreath.

Reverse.—As the officers' medal, but without the date.

Tancred saw a specimen of this medal which had stamped on the edge John Shaw, Mint.



The third medal is larger than the Waterloo medal, and measures 1.62 inch diameter.

Obverse.—Laureated and draped bust of the Regent, with brooch on right shoulder.

Reverse.—As No. 1.

#### HANOVERIAN WATERLOO MEDAL.

As guardian to the young Duke of Brunswick, the Prince Regent, by a decree, instituted in December, 1817, the Brunswick Waterloo medal, and commanded that it should be issued to the Hanoverian troops present at the battle. The medal was struck in silver and worn with clip, ring, and riband as No. 1.

Obverse.—Laureated bust of the Prince Regent to right. Legend, GEORG PRINZ REGENT 1815.


Reverse.—Two laurel branches enclosing WATERLOO JUN XVIII; above, a trophy of arms. Legend: HANNOVERSCHER TAPFERKEIT (for Hanoverian valour).

Edge.—Stamped as No. 1.

King George III, to commemorate the battle of Waterloo, and to reward his Hanoverian subjects, instituted on August 12th, 1815, the Order of the Guelph, but although only intended for Hanoverians it was largely bestowed upon British subjects. There was a military and a civil division, consisting of three classes each, namely, Grand Crosses, Commanders, and Knights; and a medal called the "Guelph medal" to reward non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves.

## THE ROYAL IRISH REGIMENT.

BY CHARLES WINTER.

HE Royal Irish Regiment was raised in April, 1684, by Charles II, when he reorganised the military forces of Ireland. Its first colonel was Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard, eldest son of Sir Arthur Forbes, Baronet, of Castle Forbes, County Longford. He was born in 1623, and, as a cavalry officer, fought under the Royal banner during the Civil War. He attained the rank of colonel in 1646, and held a command in Scotland under the Duke of Montrose, afterwards suffering two years' imprisonment in Edinburgh. Having faithfully adhered to the royal cause, he was, on the Restoration, sworn a Member of the Privy Council and appointed Marshal of the Army of Ireland. In 1675 he was raised to the peerage of Ireland as Baron Clanehugh and Viscount Granard, afterwards promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and created Earl of Granard. James II removed him from his command and he, having protested against the acts of that monarch's parliament, was besieged by the Irish at Castle Forbes, but succeeded in reducing Sligo for William III.

After serving with distinction under William III in Ireland, the Eighteenth won fresh laurels in 1695 at the Siege of Namur. For its magnificent courage displayed on this occasion the king conferred upon it the title of the Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland, with the badge of the Lion of Nassau and the motto, *Virtutis Namurcensis Praemium*.

In 1701 the Eighteenth formed part of the Allied troops sent to Holland under Marlborough, and shared in many of the sieges and desperate fights of that period, including the great battles of

Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet. In 1727 a detachment shared in the second siege of Gibraltar.

For medallic records of these exploits we must resort to the cabinet of the commemorative medal collector, as no medals are known to have been conferred either upon officers or men for these campaigns. The two medals commemorative of the battle of Blenheim and one for Ramillies, each bearing a portrait of the great Marlborough, have been exhibited to the Society. After serving at the siege of Toulon in 1793, the reduction of Corsica in 1794, Elba 1796, and Tuscany 1797, the Eighteenth formed part of the Army, sent to Egypt under Abercromby, which ultimately forced the French out of that country. For this service the Sultan of Turkey conferred upon the officers gold medals of the Order of the Crescent of the Imperial Ottoman Empire. These were issued in four sizes, and sometimes they were presented set with jewels and enamelled red as a special mark of favour. The rank and file were not awarded a medal for this service until the belated issue of the Military General Service medal, with the bar for Egypt, in 1850, when only nine men of the Eighteenth survived to receive it.

Obverse.—Head of Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA, 1848.

Reverse.—Queen Victoria crowning the Duke of Wellington, who kneels before her.

Exergue.—1793–1814. Name, rank, and regiment impressed on edge.

Riband.—Red, with blue edge.

After serving in Egypt the Royal Irish were ordered to the West Indies and other parts of the world, until their services were required in China, where they bore a prominent and distinguished part in the first Chinese War of 1840–42. The medal issued for this war was without bar.

Obverse.—Head of Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Trophy of naval and military arms, with a shield of the royal arms, in the centre ARMIS EXPOSCERE PACEM.

Exergue.—China, 1842.

Riband.—Red, with yellow edge.

Burma was the next field of action, and the regiment served through the First Burmese War of 1851-2. For this campaign the India General Service Medal with bar Pegu was granted.

Obverse.—Head of Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Victory crowning a seated warrior.

Exergue.—The lotus flower. Name, rank, and regiment impressed on edge.

Riband.—Red, with blue stripes.

Returning home on the outbreak of the Russian War, the Eighteenth speedily arrived in the Crimea, and was present at the siege of Sebastopol, including the attack on the cemetery on June 18th, 1855. Queen Victoria granted a silver medal with from one to four bars—Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann, and Sebastopol. The Royal Irish received the medal with bar Sebastopol.

Obverse.—Head of Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA.

Reverse.—Victory crowning a Roman warrior; in the field, CRIMEA. Name, rank, and regiment impressed on edge.

Riband.—Light blue, with yellow edges.

The Sultan of Turkey issued a silver medal to the British troops who took part in the war.

Obverse.—A map of the Crimea spread out on a cannon, which rests on the Russian flag. At the back of the cannon and other arms are the four flags of the Allies.

Exergue.—Crimea, 1855.

Reverse.—The Sultan's cypher and date within a laurel wreath.

The Emperor Napoleon III also presented a few picked men of each regiment with the French Military War Medal, and seven non-commissioned officers and men of the Eighteenth Royal Irish received the decoration for "gallantry," "constant and good

service," and "unwearied zeal in the trenches." This medal is in the form of a silver gilt badge composed of a laurel wreath surmounted by an eagle. In the centre of the obverse is a bust of the Emperor, within a blue enamelled band inscribed LOUIS NAPOLEON. Reverse, VALEUR ET DISCIPLINE, within a blue enamelled band. Riband, yellow, with green edges.

The King of Sardinia, following the example of the French monarch, also granted a small silver medal to a limited number of officers, non-commissioned officers, and men as a special mark of favour. Three officers and one private of the Eighteenth received the Sardinian War Medal, among them Lieutenant Thomas Durand Baker, for great gallantry on June 18th, 1855, and Private J. Weir, for gallant conduct during the assault of the same date.

Returning home in July 1855, the regiment next served in India during the Sepoy Mutiny, but, having the bad luck to be sent on to Poona and other parts, they never came in touch with their treacherous foes.

In 1858 a second battalion was formed, mainly of volunteers from the Irish Militia, and, sent to New Zealand in 1863, they went through the Maori Wars of 1863-66. The medals issued for this service involved the preparation of a series of reverse dies recording the year or years in which the recipient served.

Obverse.—Bust of the Queen, veiled, to left. VICTORIA D.G.  
BRITT. REG. F.D.

Reverse.—1863 to 1866, within a laurel wreath ; above, NEW-ZEALAND ; below, VIRTUTIS HONOR.

Edge.—Stamped incuse.

Riband.—Red, with two blue stripes.

Returning home in 1871, the second battalion was not further engaged until 1882, when it was sent out to Egypt and fought at the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and was granted the Egyptian medal with bar.

Obverse.—Veiled bust of the Queen. VICTORIA REGINA ET  
IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—The Sphinx ; above, EGYPT.

Bars.—Tel-el-Kebir, The Nile, 1884.

Riband.—Blue, with two white stripes.

The first battalion followed the second to Egypt, and had the good fortune to win the Wolseley prize of £100, offered to the non-commissioned officers and men of the battalion which made the fastest run with the fewest accidents from Sarras to Debbah, and promising that the winning corps should be selected for the post of honour in the farther advance towards Khartoum. In forwarding his cheque for £100, Lord Wolseley wrote as follows :—

Camp Korti, The Soudan,  
11th March, 1885.

Dear Colonel Shaw,

It is with the greatest pleasure that I send you the enclosed cheque for £100, the prize won by your splendid battalion by having come up the Nile to Debbah in boats in less time than any other regiment. Being an Irishman myself it is very gratifying to feel that my small prize has been carried off by my own countrymen.

Believe me to be, dear Colonel Shaw, very truly yours,

WOLSELEY.

Before going up the Nile the first battalion had been employed on the Khyber line during the Afghan Campaign of 1879-80, and received the medal without bar.

Obverse.—Crowned bust of the Queen, to left. VICTORIA  
REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—Army on the march. AFGHANISTAN.

Exergue.—1878-79-80.

Riband.—Green, with red border.

The second battalion went from Egypt to Malta and subsequently to India, where it took part in the Hazara Campaign of

1888. The medal issued was of the same design as that granted for services in Burma.

In 1897 it took part in the trying operations on the North-west Frontier under Sir William Lockhart, and received the New India medal of 1895 with bars.

Obverse.—Bust of the Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—A British and native Indian soldier holding the Royal Standard between them. INDIA 1895.

Bars.—Punjab Frontier 1897–98, Samana 1897.

Riband.—Red, with two green stripes.

On January 12th, 1900, the Royal Irish landed in South Africa at Port Elizabeth and were ordered up country to reinforce General French. After serving in Cape Colony, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, they finally assisted in the pursuit of De Wet and his guerilla bands. Two medals were issued for the South African War, commonly called the Queen's and King's medals. Twenty-six different bars were issued with the former, but only two with the latter.

#### QUEEN'S MEDAL.

Obverse.—Bust of the Queen, to left. VICTORIA REGINA ET IMPERATRIX.

Reverse.—Britannia, with the Union Jack resting on her left shoulder, holds out a laurel wreath to the British troops marching before her; in the background, men-of-war. SOUTH AFRICA.

#### KING'S MEDAL.

Obverse.—Bust of the King, to left. EDWARDVS VII. REX. IMPERATOR.

Reverse.—Same as the Queen's.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gretton, in his *Campaigns and History of the Royal Irish Regiment*, says: "During the two hundred and twenty-

seven years of its existence the Eighteenth regiment has served in nearly all the important wars in which England has been engaged, and has earned undying laurels whenever it has had an opportunity of distinguishing itself. The roll of battle honours, long as it is, by no means commemorates all the achievements of the regiment: in the Low Countries the Royal Irish took a leading part in the storming, not only of Namur, but of many other fortresses; in the capture of the Schellenberg, in the engagement at Bunker's Hill, in the defence of Toulon, and in the fighting in Corsica the regiment won great praise, but the names of none of these operations are emblazoned on its colours. Early in its career the regiment earned the reputation of being second to none in the British Army. This reputation it has maintained to the present day; and the author is convinced that when, in years to come, his successor writes the continuation of this history, it will be seen that the future generations of officers and men of the Royal Irish regiment have carried on the glorious traditions of the Eighteenth, and have rivalled, though they could not surpass, the brilliant feats of arms which have been described."





PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY  
SESSION 1915.

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# OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

SESSION 1915.

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  - 1907. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
  - 1908. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
  - 1909. W. J. ANDREW, F.S.A.
  - 1910. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
  - 1911. P. W. P. CARLYON-BRITTON, F.S.A., D.L.
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  - 1915. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
  - 1916. LIEUT.-COLONEL H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.
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### **The John Sanford Saltus Gold Medal.**

This Medal is awarded by ballot of all the Members triennially "to the Member of the Society whose paper or papers appearing in the Society's publications shall receive the highest number of votes from the Members, as being in their opinion the best in the interests of numismatic science."

The Medal was founded by Mr. John Sanford Saltus, of New York, a Vice-President of the Society, by the gift of £200 in the year 1910; and so that the triennial periods should be computed from the inauguration of the Society the Rules provided that the Medal should be awarded in the years 1910 and 1911, and thenceforward triennially.

#### **MEDALLISTS.**

- 1910. P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, F.S.A.
- 1911. Miss Helen Farquhar.
- 1914. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.



# The British Numismatic Society.

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PROCEEDINGS.

1915.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*January 20th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

Lord Kitchener was nominated by the Council as an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mrs. Walton Mellor was elected a member.

Major Raymond F. Boileau, by letter, recorded the discovery of a penny of the short-cross type of **†AIMEB ON LVND**, whilst the Tenth Royal Fusiliers were digging trenches at Donyland, near Colchester, on December 29th, 1914. A careful exploration disclosed that the coin did not form part of a hoard.

AWARD OF THE JOHN SANFORD SALTUS MEDAL.

The President made the presentation of the John Sanford Saltus Medal, 1912-14, which had been awarded by the ballot of the members to Mr. W. J. Andrew, F.S.A., who suitably acknowledged the honour.



*Presentation.*

Mr. John Sanford Saltus.—A set of the New York Commercial Tercentenary medals in silver and bronze, upon the reverses of which was recorded the name of the British Numismatic Society.

A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Saltus for this gift.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—A complete series of the varieties of the short-cross coinage illustrating his paper.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—A penny of the short-cross coinage, Evans, class V, reading on the reverse: **LONDE CIVITAS**.

Mr. W. C. Wells.—Five short-cross pennies. Evans, class I, **WALTER ON NORW**, unusual in its details; **RAVL ON LVNDE**, a variety showing no hair; and **hVGO ON NORhTV** with the hair shown on one side of the head only, class II?. Obverse: **hENRICVS R/EX**; reverse: **ROGERI: OF NIC**, of rude art resembling some of the Rhuddlan issues; and class V, **WALTER ON LEI**.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Groat of Henry IV. of the light coinage, weighing  $55\frac{1}{2}$  grains and reading **hERRIC** [over **RICTRD**] **DEI GRX REX TRGLIE**, a slipped trefoil on the breast, a pellet to the right, and an annulet to the left of the crown. Although the name of Richard II. has been altered on the die to that of Henry IV., no coins are known of this type with the name unaltered.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Angel of Henry VI., mint-marked pierced cross on the obverse only: **hERRIC h DI GRX h REX h TRGL h h h RRTRD h h**; reverse: **PER h GRVGE' h TVT STLVV h ROS h XPD REDE'TOR** trefoil stops, weight 79 grains.

Miss Helen Farquhar.—A collection of memorials to Charles I., namely :

Seven badges in silver, *Medallic Illustrations*, I, 340-187, 340-190, 342-192, 344-194, 344-196 and 360-232 ; all by Rawlins, and a variety of 360-232.

Medal in silver, 346-199, by Norbert Roettier ; medals in bronze, 346-200 and 347-201 by John Roettier ; and two Dutch medals in silver, 349-208 and 352-210, the latter being initialled F.

Two miniature heart-shaped boxes in silver bearing inscriptions, one of them containing a portrait of the King by Rawlins, 366-249.

*Paper.*

Mr. L. A. Lawrence read a paper upon what is known as "the short-cross coinage," being the silver penny issued by Henry II. in 1180, which, although bearing his name and title as "Henricus Rex," was continued as the only currency in England by his successors, Richard I., John, and Henry III. until 1247 ; but as there were several recoinages of the type during that period, the resulting variations in detail and workmanship enabled the late Sir John Evans, fifty years ago, to attempt to classify the coins in their chronological sequence, and to attribute to each of the four kings the variety current during his reign. Mr. Lawrence proffered the evidence of numerous contemporary records bearing upon his subject, which not only indicated considerable alteration in this classification, but also enabled him to date approximately the issue of all the eight classes into which he had now chronologically divided the series. He proved that in 1218 all the mints in the country, with the exception of six, were closed ; and of these six, York and Winchester continued to coin for a short period only, and Durham survived for but a little longer, leaving London, Canterbury, and Bury St. Edmunds to supply the whole of the money required for England. He exhibited a series of the coins illustrating the varieties.

The paper was printed in vol. xi of the *Journal*.

## ORDINARY MEETING

*February 24th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

A letter from Mr. Lionel Fletcher, member of the Council, now with the Hon. Artillery Company at the Front, acknowledging the paragraph in the Council's Report referring to him, was read.

Mr. Thomas Allworthy, Mr. A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Mr. Richard Thorney Christopher, Mr. William Longman, Mr. Hugh Drummond McEwen, F.S.A.Scot., and Mr. Archibald Stanton Whitfield were elected members.

*Presentations.*

Mr. John Sanford Saltus.—The large gold medal of the American Red Cross Society.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. Grant R. Francis.—Thirty-one Tower crowns of Charles I., illustrating his paper on this subject, and there described in detail.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—Twenty varieties of Tower crowns of Charles I., showing the series of the mint-marks.

The Rev. F. J. Eld.—An engraved medal in silver, about  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches in diameter, similar to the Passe series but later in date. Obverse: plain portrait of Charles I., legend, GIVE THY IVDGMENTS O GOD VNTO THE KING AND THY RIGHTEOVSNESSE TO THE KINGS SON. Reverse: a finely executed and artistic portrait, after Lely, of Charles II.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—An interesting series of sterlings struck in imitation of the English penny in the Low Countries, chiefly at places now prominent in the war reports.

*Papers.*

Mr. Grant R. Francis read a paper on "The Crowns of the Tower Mint of Charles I.," in which he traced the chronological order of their issues, and introduced several hitherto unnoticed examples for which the same die had been used, with a substituted or overstruck mint-mark in two, and in some cases three, successive issues. No fewer than forty-three minor varieties of the crowns were recorded, and in most cases Mr. Francis exhibited the coins illustrating his remarks. Amongst these was a specimen, in remarkably good preservation, of a crown of the first issue with the mint-mark lys, but bearing the large plume over the shield on the reverse, to denote that it was struck from Welsh silver. Of this only one example was previously known.

The paper is printed in this volume.

Mr. W. J. Andrew, in a short paper on certain obsidional money of Charles I.'s reign, questioned the attribution of such money of necessity to the sieges of isolated fortresses, such as Beeston Castle and Lathom House, urging that it could only have been required where the defended area included the towns, as at Carlisle, Colchester, Newark, Pontefract, and Scarborough, in which it would pass current amongst the burgesses. In support of his argument he quoted passages from a contemporary diary of the siege of Lathom House, including the entry: "There was amongst the soldiers of the garrison about 50*l.* in money, but of no use at all to them but to play at span counter with. They lent it to one another by handfuls, never telling or counting any. One day one soldier had all, and the next another, till at last all their sport was spoiled, for the enemy at the gate stripped them of every penny."

This paper was printed in vol. xi of the *Journal*.

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## ORDINARY MEETING.

*March 17th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

Mr. James E. Cree, Mr. Terence Eden, Mr. W. J. Songhurst, the Rev. Edgar Rogers, and the Hon. Andrew Shirley were elected members.

*Exhibitions.*

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—The series of coins treated in his paper.

Miss H. Farquhar.—A series of five half-crowns of Charles I. by Briot, namely : 1, A variety of Hawkins 497 in very high relief ; 2, Hawkins 498, but a small B, Briot's initial, within the o of Ebor ; 3, similar, but the small B at an obtuse angle over a pellet to the right of the crown on the reverse ; 4, mint-mark anchor, B upright on the obverse, horizontal on the reverse ; 5, the pattern of 1628, with the signature N. BRIOT, F. Miss Farquhar also showed the ordinary coins, representing numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4, for comparison.

*Paper.*

Mr. H. A. Parsons read a paper on "The Anglian Coins of Harthacnut," in which, after explaining away numerous misreadings and Danish coins which had been allowed to creep into the standard works on Anglo-Saxon numismatics, he demonstrated that three types only were issued during the reign. The chronological order of these three coinages and their dates of issue were then considered, and reasons were proffered to show that one of them was struck during Harthacnut's reign over Southern England from 1035 to 1037, in the lifetime of Harold I. The existence of money issued by Harthacnut at this period had hitherto passed unnoticed, notwithstanding that the

type in question could only be regarded as anomalous if allowed to stay amongst the coins of his reign from 1040 to 1042 as sole monarch of all England.

This paper was printed in vol. xi of the *Journal*.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*April 28th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The President having referred in feeling terms to the death of Mr. Bernard Roth, a Vice-President of the Society, a vote of condolence was passed.

Mr. W. L. Harrison was elected a member.

*Presentation.*

Mr. Parsons.—“Coins and Medals,” Pembroke Collection, 1848.

*Exhibitions.*

Miss Helen Farquhar.—Maundy money. The series from Charles II. to our present King, including many of the rare pieces.

Examples of the red and white leather bags which at the Maundy distribution contained the gold and silver respectively.

The earlier hammered small coinage of Charles II., namely : *Hawkins*, Types 1, 2, and 3, with the rare varieties of Types 2 and 4. Patterns for the coinage of groats, three-pences, half-groats, six-farthings, pennies and halfpennies of Charles I. and some of the rarest of the small coins from the country mints, including Aberystwith and Oxford pennies and mules from the two combined mints.

Dr. George C. Williamson.—By permission of the owner, Lord Beauchamp, an original miniature representing the presentation of Maundy money by Queen Elizabeth.

The miniature, which is oval, is ascribed upon very sound evidence to Nicholas Hilliard, and was for some years supposed to represent quite another event in Tudor history, but the consensus of opinion at the present time is definitely in favour of its being a contemporary record of the presentation of the Maundy money, and in all probability it belongs to the period *circa* 1560. In the foreground of the miniature is the figure of the Queen, in a rich blue gown with a long train carried by her gentlewoman-in-waiting. It has been suggested by Miss Farquhar that the latter is not unlike Mrs. Blanche Parry, who always attended her mistress until she died in 1589–90, the portrait having a distinct resemblance to that on the monument of Mrs. Parry illustrated in a recently published book entitled *Queen Elizabeth's Gentlewoman*, by Mrs. Cust. The Queen wears the long white apron which was part of the Court costume for this ceremony, and many other ladies around her are wearing the same. About the Queen are various officials of her Court, some in black habits with capes, some in black gowns trimmed with fur, and others wearing doublet and hose, whilst near to them are ladies in bright-coloured costumes of red, pink, and blue, most of them, in addition, wearing the white apron. Some of the Court officials carry wands or staves of office, and two, at least, of them wear gold chains and badges. In the rear of the Queen is to be seen an official in black and white, who is probably the royal almoner. In the centre of the group is the throne or stool upon which the Queen had sat, and behind it are the bishops in copes and the gentlemen and children of the Chapel Royal. The recipients of the Queen's bounty are ranged on either side, and beyond them is a group, probably of the yeomen of the guard, and a crowd of spectators. Some of the gentlemen-at-arms are to be seen near the throne.

In the foreground are two officials bearing gold basins, one of whom is walking backwards before the Queen and holding out to her his basin. The miniature, so far as is known, is the only existing illustration of this important ceremony in Tudor times, and is particularly valuable, as it is a contemporary record and in colour. It is in perfect order, and is an exceedingly choice work of art.

A vote of thanks was passed to Lord Beauchamp for his courtesy in allowing the Society the opportunity of examining this unique memorial.

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—Maundy money : Charles II., groat of 1676, the date being altered from 1675 ; threepence of 1676, the obverse of which was from the die for a groat.

James II. : Proofs of the groat and half-groat of 1686 ; penny of 1687, altered from 1686 ; penny of 1688, altered from 1687.

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—A shilling of James I., mint-mark on the obverse a small bunch of grapes, and on the reverse grapes over an escallop shell.

A curious shilling of Charles I. of uncertain mintage, mint-mark on the obverse a plume-on-tower, and on the reverse an animal.

Specimens of the royal Maundy bags in red and white kid.

Mr. Joseph Young.—A series of the small coinage from Charles II. to the present reign.

Mr. Henry Garside.—A variety of the bronze double for Guernsey, dated 1911, the shield on the obverse bearing three leopards and a sprig of nine laurel leaves instead of three lions and a sprig of three laurel leaves.

*Paper.*

Miss Helen Farquhar read a paper on "Maundy Money," in which, whilst admitting that a considerable quantity of small silver was



required by our Tudor and Stuart monarchs for daily charities, apart from the small amount demanded by the actual dole on Holy Thursday, she deprecated, as conveying an erroneous impression, the use of the term "Maundy" for the groat and threepence until after the advent of the House of Hanover, and adduced evidence from contemporary manuscript sources of the continual issue for ordinary currency of the small coins usually massed by numismatists under that title. She explained that at the ceremony in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the silver dole consisted of "single pence" equal in number to the years of the Sovereign's age, with "one year of grace" over, given to a like number of poor persons. A document which ordered half-groats as well as pennies at Eastertide for the use of James I. was accounted for by reference to a record of the royal progress of his predecessor, Queen Elizabeth, through St. James's Park in the afternoon of Holy Thursday, when she distributed to more than 2,000 men, women, and children the sum of twopence apiece, although her pensioners earlier in the day had received "single pence."

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#### ORDINARY MEETING.

*May 19th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The Public Library of Newcastle-upon-Tyne was elected to membership.

#### *Exhibition of Naval and Military Medals.*

The evening had been reserved for the annual exhibition of naval and military medals, orders, decorations, and allied subjects, with the result that the objects of interest lent were so numerous that only a selection can be noticed.

Miss H. Farquhar.—A series of medals of 1643, commemorating the taking of Bristol, *Medallic Illustrations* 134, 136, and varieties dated 1648 and 1660, illustrative of the work of Briot and Rawlins at Oxford and the later use of the dies at the Restoration.

A badge by Rawlins, dated 1642, proving his presence at Oxford in that year.

Medallic representations of the Dominion of the Sea by Briot in 1630 and Simon in 1665, *Medallic Illustrations* 42-3 and 145.

The Battle of Lowestoft, by Roettier, June 3rd, 1665, 139.

The Peace of Breda, two examples, 1667, 185 and 186.

Trial piece in lead of the obverse only for the naval medal of 1685, 28, and lead casts for the Edgehill, contemporary, Fairfax and Manchester, contemporary, medals, 298-119, 317-150, and 309-139.

Mr. Spink.—A large collection of Waterloo medals representing all the regiments present on June 16th, 17th, and 18th, 1815, including those of the K.G.S. and Allies, also the orders, medals, and decorations of Major-General Sir James Lyon, K.C.B., G.C.H., who commanded the Sixth Hanoverian Division.

Mr. Winter read some notes on the Collection, and gave particulars of the first designs prepared for the bronze and gold Waterloo medals. At the suggestion of the Duke of Wellington, it was afterwards decided to issue a medal of one size and metal, the dies being prepared by Thomas Wyon. The obverse, from a drawing by Sir Thomas Laurence, and the figure of victory for the reverse from a Greek coin of Elis, seen by W. W. Pole, the Master of the Mint, in the cabinet of Sir Richard Paine.

The field officer's gold medal for Salamanca with bar for Vittoria of Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Lloyd, of the Ninety-fourth Regiment, who fell at the battle of the Nivelle, 1813, was

also exhibited, with the very finely chased gold casket presented to his family by the officers of his regiment in memory of their distinguished and gallant commander who fell at the early age of 30 years.

Mr. Winter's paper is printed in this volume.

Mr. E. E. Needes.—The Waterloo medal awarded to Sergeant Charles Ewart, of the Second Royal North British Dragoons, the Scots Greys, the hero of the famous picture "The Fight for the Standard." Ewart, having overcome and wrested the Eagle from the officer who carried it, was attacked in rapid succession by a lancer and a foot soldier, both of whom he vanquished. He carried the Eagle into Brussels amidst the acclamation of the people, and was rewarded with a commission.

The Mint-Master's presentation copy of the Waterloo medal to the Duke of Kent, and so inscribed upon the edge.

Gold badge of the Watiers Club, at the corner of Bolton Street and Piccadilly, commemorating the peace of "1 July 1814," and a series of interesting relics of the career of Wellington and the final peace with France.

Major W. J. Freer.—Several orders and medals.

Mr. T. K. Mackenzie.—The original Waterloo medal, officially indented "Field-Marshal The Duke of Wellington, K.G. and G.C.B.," and presented to him after the victory of Waterloo.

Group of medals awarded to Major, afterwards Lieut.-Colonel, John Mervin Cutcliffe, C.B., K.H., namely, the gold medal for Egypt 1801, the Waterloo medal, the gold badge of a Companion of the Bath, the gold badge of a Knight of Hanover, and a set of miniatures of the foregoing. Major Cutcliffe commanded the Twenty-Third Light Dragoons at Waterloo in the absence of the Earl of Portarlington, and was

severely wounded early in the day. He was promoted to Lieut.-Colonel of the Regiment in September, 1815, and died in 1822.

The Peninsular medal of ten clasps, awarded to Dr. Archibald Arnott, surgeon to the Twentieth Foot, who attended the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena in 1821, during his last illness, until his death. The doctor soon earned the confidence and esteem of Napoleon—who, a few days before his death, desiring a gold snuff-box to be brought to him, scratched upon the lid the letter “N” with his penknife, and presented it to the doctor. The Emperor bequeathed to Dr. Arnott the sum of six hundred napoleons, and the British Government increased this by a gratuity of five hundred pounds.

The medal, apart from its historic associations, is interesting because of the unusual series of its clasps, namely:—Egypt, Maida, Vimiera, Corunna, Vittoria, Pyrenees, Nivelle, Nive, Orthes, and Toulouse.

Dr. Arnott died at Kirconnel Hall, Ecclefechan, Dumfriesshire, on the 6th of July, 1855, in the eighty-fourth year of his age.

Badge of the Past Grand Master of “The Invincible Waterloo Lodge of Oddfellows,” founded in 1816 by Waterloo veterans in London.

Letter by Colonel Best, who commanded the Hanoverian Brigade, giving details of the Battle of Waterloo.

Mr. W. Sharp Ogden.—A statuette in bronze of an equestrian officer, clad in full armour, of the first half of the seventeenth century. Hollar’s maps of England, issued in 1644 and folded to be carried in the holster as “usefull for all comanders for Qvarteringe of souldiers, and for all sorts of Persons, that would be informed where the Armies be”; also other relics of the Carolean wars.

The President.—An interesting letter written to a German soldier and found by the Exhibitor’s son, Lieutenant D. B.

Morrieson, of the King's Royal Rifles, in the trenches of Neuve Chapelle.

Mr. W. J. Andrew.—A seal in silver-gilt and cornelian,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high, surmounted by the bust of the Duke of Wellington, wearing the orders of the Golden Fleece and the Garter, contemporary with Waterloo, and said to have been presented by him.

*Papers.*

Miss Farquhar read extracts from her "Portraiture of our Stuart Monarchs on their Coins and Medals," recording documentary evidence of the issue of medals to commemorate the capture of the Spanish galleons at Vigo in 1702.

The paper was printed in vol. xi of the *Journal*.

Mr. Charles Winter read the papers printed under his name in this volume, and Major Freer read a paper on his exhibits.

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ORDINARY MEETING.

*June 23rd, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

Congratulations were tendered to the President upon his appointment to the command of the Royal Field Artillery Brigade at Fulham.

Mr. W. J. Faulkner and Mr. Oswald Moor were elected members.

*Exhibitions.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson.—A series of the coins of Edward VI., which are described, and in most cases illustrated, in his paper.

*Paper.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson read the paper intituled "A Guide to the Silver Coins of Edward VI.," which is printed in this volume.

ORDINARY MEETING.

*October 27th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The President paid a tribute to the services of the late Rev. C. K. Henderson upon the Council and to his popularity amongst the members generally, and a vote of condolence was passed.

Mrs. W. V. Chapin, Mr. H. W. Longbottom, Mr. Richard Arthur Brabazon Ponsonby, and Mr. Edward Samuel Spicer were elected members.

The Secretary reported that Mr. Stewart A. Clarke, a member of the Society, had been killed in action at the Front, and a vote of tribute to his honour was passed.

*Presentations.*

Mr. H. A. Parsons.—Catalogue of the Pembroke Collection, 1848, from the library of Lord Hastings.

The Deputy-Master of the Royal Mint.—Coinage of the British Empire, Legislation.

*Exhibitions.*

W. Sharp Ogden.—Contemporary impressions in wax of the great seals of Queen Elizabeth and James I.

Plan of London at the time of the Great Fire in 1666, showing the proposed improvements, widening of streets, etc.

View of London Bridge, 1760.

Original drawing by W. Capon, 1815: View of Winchester Palace, Southwark, after the fire of 1815.

The Chapel Royal, Savoy, original drawing, dated 1823. Mr. Ogden remarked that the present building is a "restoration," and quite unlike that shown in the drawing.

Miss H. Farquhar.—The medal celebrating the return of Charles I. to London in 1633, upon the reverse of which is a similar view of London to that on the King's second seal.

Mr. Andrew.—The Jacobite medal of 1721, with the view of London and London Bridge at that date.

A plate in silver-pewter found beneath the floor of an old house in Winchester commemorating the election of the Emperor of Germany in 1619, on which each of the seven electors is represented in silver relief as an equestrian figure, armorially identified, with a view of his city below the house, exactly as upon the great seals illustrated in the lecture. It is possible that, as one of the electors was the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the plate was part of a coronation service belonging to his son, Prince Rupert or Prince Maurice.

Mr. F. A. Walters.—Edward IV. : Three late groats reading **EDVTRD**. All from the same obverse die, but each from a different reverse die.

### *Paper.*

Dr. William Martin read a paper upon "London as illustrated upon the Great Seals," the main object of which was to direct attention to a source of information, hitherto somewhat neglected, concerning the appearance of London in Stuart times, and by so doing lead possibly to the discovery or recognition of the original view or views of old London from which the illustrations upon the great seals and similar pictorial efforts had been drawn. One immediate result of the "rebirth of the old learning" was the production of representations of localities—representations approximating to plans, but more often to pictures. In the fifteenth century the public had seemingly tired of pictures which served as backgrounds to the painting of events in the lives of the saints and of events upon which religion was based, and asked for pictures or panoramas of cities or towns or structures which should absorb virtually the whole of the onlooker's interest. Satisfaction of this request was forthcoming, and figures, once paramount, were, when

present, relegated to subordinate positions, and became merged in ornamental detail.

When the Elizabethan period arrived, this method of expressing what might formerly have been backgrounds had fully matured, resulting in the production of admirable picture-plans of old London. Although the trend of development was as stated, yet there remained a class of picture which failed to move with the times. In this conservative type the figure in the forefront secured attention, while the prospect beyond competed only with flat ornamental detail. It was these backgrounds, when cartographic, which formed the subject of the paper. If these backgrounds were to be treated seriously, they demanded, in common with other contemporary map-views, "interpretation" in the fullest extent of the term. They must be discussed in relation to a prototype in existence or which we surmise to have existed; they must be ranged with other variations of the prototype before the information they were capable of giving could be extracted. It was a common fault with many writers to base conclusions upon a single representative of a group of map-views without reference to the original of which that representative might be but a degraded specimen.

In order to assess the value of the views of old London which appeared on so many of the great seals, other views of a somewhat allied character were, with the aid of the lantern, passed in review.

The well-known attempts to depict London on the corporate seal of the city, *circa* 1224, were shown, as also the view worked in tapestry, *circa* 1290, from the Barcheston factory by Richard Hyckes, a view evidently founded on the map in Saxton's Atlas of earlier date. As bearing closely upon the panorama of London between the horse's legs on the reverse of the second great seal of Charles I., which was the first great seal to show London, an equestrian portrait of James I. was exhibited, in which a great proportion of Southwark had been allowed to remain. This and other contemporary illustrations shed light upon pictures of London which adorned the great seals down to 1815, when a picture of Windsor was substituted for that of London. Several slides of these great seals were shown. The lecturer drew



special attention to the great seal of Richard Cromwell, in which the high-water mark of excellence was reached, and remarked upon the similarity of the horse to that by Le Sœur which, carrying Charles I., faces Whitehall.

In addition, some medals, on which a panorama of London occupied the whole of the field, were shown on the screen. Some ingenuity was required in order to determine the individual buildings upon the seals, maps, and views of which illustrations had been given. It was clear that in many instances houses were expressed conventionally, and that an attempt to identify them would be useless. The lecturer, in conclusion, hoped that the originals of the backgrounds from the time of the Stuarts might be forthcoming, and so help to swell that magnificent series of map-views of old London of which we were the inheritors.

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#### ORDINARY AND ANNIVERSARY MEETINGS.

*November 30th, 1915.*

Lieut.-Colonel H. W. MORRIESON, R.A., F.S.A.,  
*President, in the Chair.*

The Rev. Douglas Gilbert Matthews, M.A., Mr. Ronald Montagu Simon, and the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland were elected to membership.

#### THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

The Secretary read the Report of the Council as follows :

#### REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

NOVEMBER 30TH, 1915.

The Council has the honour to present its Twelfth Annual Report to the Members.

Widespread as are the pernicious effects of the great German

cradled War, the stability of your Society remains unshaken ; indeed, the past year has proved financially profitable. Yet the toll in the Roll of Honour from our Members must be an ever present bond of sympathy amongst us.

On November the 30th, 1914, the Society consisted of 18 Royal, 13 Honorary, and 412 Ordinary Members, the total being 443.

It is a pleasing circumstance that all our Royal Members are representatives either of the Allied Military Powers, or of neutral, but friendly, States. This fact would seem to indicate the trend of Continental amity with Britain long before the War.

Our List of Honorary Members is reduced by the fact that three of its Members have permanently retired from the Country.

The appointment of Field Marshal Lord Kitchener as an Honorary Member of the Society will be welcomed by all, and the more so when we remember that, notwithstanding his arduous military duties, he has for many years taken a keen interest in the science of numismatics.

When so many of our Members have loyally responded to the Nation's Call to Arms, and are at the Front on both sea and land, it is impossible to accurately ascertain our losses from that cause at the present time, because of the difficulty of identifying the names under their official descriptions, but all will unite in heart-felt hope that the casualties may be few indeed.

With this deep feeling we tender a tribute of honour to the memory of Mr. Stewart Algernon Clarke, a member of the Stock Exchange, who was killed in action in France on the 13th of October, as a sergeant in the 6th Buffs Regiment whilst in charge of a machine-gun. He was well known at our Meetings in connection with numismatics and antiquities relating to the County of Kent.

It is with the deepest regret that we have to record the loss by death of two of our Colleagues upon your Council, the late Mr. Bernard Roth, F.S.A., and the Rev. Cooper Kennett Henderson, M.A.

Mr. Roth not only assisted in the formation of the Society, but

always took the most keen and active interest in its welfare. In 1903 he was elected upon the first Council, and from 1905 to the date of his death, in April last, he held the office of a Vice-President. During that period he was a constant contributor to the volumes of our *Journal*, and his treatises upon ancient British money, ancient Gaulish coins, and the coins of the Danish kings of Ireland will remain standard works of reference. He was one of the leading collectors of the day, a son-in-law of the late John Bright, a Magistrate for Middlesex, a well-known specialist as a surgeon, and a most valued Member of our Society.

The Rev. C. K. Henderson joined as a Member in 1906, and from 1910 to his return to England in 1913 represented the Society as Corresponding Member in Italy. In the latter year he was elected upon the Council, where his disposition rightly earned him the sincere friendship of all his colleagues, and at the date of his last illness he had a work in preparation for the pages of our *Journal*.

Yet another loss amongst those who have served office has befallen us, in the death of Mr. Oswald Fitch, F.G.S. From 1911 to 1913 he was one of your Council and would no doubt have been re-elected to-day had he been with us. He was a well-known numismatist and the quality of his collection may be gauged by the instance that he recently exhibited to the Society one of the very few extant gold pennies of Henry III.

We also deeply regret to report the decease of three others of our Members, Mrs. Aitken, Mr. Henry Bailey, and Mr. Charles D. Panter.

The list of twenty-two resignations we have submitted is no heavier than the average in years of peace, and the five names amoved are directly due to the War, because they represent members resident in enemy-countries.

It is, however, evident that the restful science of numismatics has claims upon many as a relief to the thrills of war, for one of the two surprises of the year has been the election of so many as twenty-three new members, namely,

|                                  |                                  |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Mr. Thomas Allworthy.            | The Rev. Douglas G. Matthews,    |
| The Society of Antiquaries of    | M.A. (Cantab.).                  |
| Scotland.                        | Mrs. Walton Mellor.              |
| Mr. A. N. Brushfield, M.R.C.S.,  | Mr. Oswald Moor.                 |
| L.R.C.P.                         | The Newcastle-upon-Tyne Public   |
| Mrs. William V. Chapin.          | Library.                         |
| Mr. Richard Thorney Christopher. | Mr. Richard A. B. Ponsonby.      |
| Mr. James Edward Cree.           | The Rev. Edgar Rogers, M.A.      |
| Mr. Terence Eden.                | The Hon. Andrew Shirley.         |
| Mr. W. J. Faulkner.              | Mr. Ronald Montagu Simon.        |
| Mr. W. L. Harrison.              | Mr. William J. Songhurst,        |
| Mr. F. W. Longbottom.            | F.C.I.S.                         |
| Mr. William Longman.             | Mr. E. S. Spicer.                |
| Mr. Hugh Drummond McEwen.        | Mr. Archibald Stanton Whitfield. |

SUMMARY.

|                     |        | <i>Royal.</i> | <i>Honorary.</i> | <i>Ordinary.</i> | <i>Total.</i> |
|---------------------|--------|---------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|
| 30th November, 1914 | ...    | 18            | 13               | 412              | 443           |
| Since elected...    | ... .. | —             | 1                | 23               | 24            |
|                     |        | 18            | 14               | 435              | 467           |
| Deceased            | ... .. | —             | —                | 7                | 7             |
| Resigned            | ... .. | —             | 3                | 22               | 25            |
| Amoved              | ... .. | —             | —                | 5                | 5             |
| 30th November, 1915 | ...    | 18            | 11               | 401              | 430           |

Our congratulations are due to our President, Lieut.-Colonel Morrison, upon his return to the Service and appointment to the command of the 177th (Fulham) Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery; also to

ourselves, in that although he has been quartered with his Brigade away from London, he has not missed occupying the chair at any of our Meetings during the year. We also congratulate him upon the recovery of his son from wounds received in France on May the 9th.

The best wishes of the Society will be with Mr. Lionel Fletcher, a Member of the Council, who has recently been invalided home from the Front after a year in the trenches with the Hon. Artillery Company.

Our Director, Major Carlyon-Britton, who, as Second in Command of the 14th West Yorkshire Regiment, has been stationed, first in Cornwall, and later at Lichfield, has nevertheless on one or two occasions been able to be present at our Meetings, for his interest in the welfare of the Society knows no slackening.

To our Librarian, Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, our congratulations are due upon his appointment to the London Committee of the French Red Cross, because since the first month of the War he has been urgently applying for permission to serve his Country, but one of the standards of measurement in the British Army has been the difficulty.

Yet again you will join us in expressing our gratitude to Major Carlyon-Britton and Mr. Lumb for so generously continuing to place the suite of rooms at 43, Bedford Square at the service of the Society free of cost. In these days of general economic pressure this gift to us will be even more appreciated than in times of peace.

The second surprise of the year must be accredited to our Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Hutchins, F.C.A., whose most careful management of the financial affairs of the Society has resulted in a profit of thirteen guineas upon the year's returns. This result under present conditions carries far more weight to his credit than can any words of ours, and also evidences the financial strength of the Society.

The Library, under the direction of Mr. Raymond Carlyon-Britton, continues to make steady progress and becomes more and more useful to our members.

Our Editor, Mr. Andrew, reports that the claims of the nation upon the services and time of many of our usual contributors

render the publication of the *Journal* a more difficult task than of yore, and the coming volume may in consequence be somewhat delayed. He greatly regrets that the sequence of what, in his opinion, are two of the most important works ever written upon British numismatics has to be broken for a time, namely, the "Numismatic History of the Reigns of William I. and II.," by Major Carlyon-Britton, which, as all will agree, must await the relaxation of his military duties; and the "Numismatic History of Edward I., II., and III.," by Mr. H. B. Earle Fox and Mr. J. S. Shirley-Fox, which you will regret to hear, is interrupted by the ill-health of the former—ill-health which we trust will soon be remedied. Fortunately, Mr. L. A. Lawrence, realising the needs of the Society, has not only completed his standard treatise upon the Long-cross Coinage of Henry III. and Edward I., but also has expedited and contributed a monograph on the Short-cross Coinage of Henry II. to Henry III., which, we believe, will take foremost rank in the numismatic history of that period. These papers, with the wonted ability of our usual contributors, should render the coming volume worthy of its series.

At our last Anniversary Meeting the result of the ballot for the award of the John Sanford Saltus Triennial Gold Medal was almost unanimously in favour of our Secretary and Editor, Mr. W. J. Andrew, for his contributions of a "Numismatic History of the Reign of Stephen," which is being intermittently continued through the volumes of our *Journal*.

In view of the present conditions our Meetings have been exceptionally well attended, and your Council is grateful to those Members who have thus encouraged the work of the Society by their presence and also by their contributions to the varied exhibitions of objects of interest.

Of our Meetings, that usually held in July is, even in peace times, the least satisfactory, because it falls at the height of the holiday season. This year your Council decided to omit it, lest a poor attendance should have a depressing effect upon the gatherings to follow; and, subject to your approval, it is thought that this may be a precedent which it would be wise to follow during, at least, the continuance of the War.

The question whether it would be possible to change the hour of our Meetings so that they could be held under daylight conditions has received our serious consideration, but at present no such arrangement seems to be practicable.

We specially thank those who have assisted the Society by interesting themselves in the enrolment of the 23 new Members during the year, and we trust that their praiseworthy example will be followed generally, for in this all can assist.

Lastly, we feel that the thanks of the Members are due to Mr. W. Beresford Smith and Mr. Alfred Tarver, who have most kindly undertaken the responsibility of auditing the Society's accounts—an arduous, but we will not say a thankless, task.

The Report was unanimously adopted.

Prints of the audited balance sheet having been distributed amongst the members, Mr. Hutchins, as Honorary Treasurer, made his annual report on the financial position of the Society, which was adopted.

The Rev. Edgar Rogers and Mr. Coleman P. Hyman having been appointed scrutators, the ballot for the Officers and Council for the ensuing year was taken, and the scrutators announced that all the members nominated by the Council had been elected, namely :—

*OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.—SESSION 1916.*

*President* :—Lieut.-Colonel H. W. Morrieson, R.A., F.S.A.

*Vice-Presidents* :—Miss Helen Farquhar ; Major W. J. Freer, V.D., D.L., F.S.A. ; Lord Grantley, F.S.A., D.L., J.P. ; L. A. Lawrence, F.S.A. ; J. Sanford Saltus ; J. S. Shirley-Fox, R.B.A.

*Director* :—Major P. W. P. Carlyon-Britton, D.L., J.P., F.S.A.

*Treasurer* :—Alexander C. Hutchins, F.C.A.

*Librarian* :—Raymond C. Carlyon-Britton.

*Secretary* :—W. J. Andrew, F.S.A.

*Council* :—Thomas Bearman ; William Dale, F.S.A., F.G.S. ; General C. S. Feltrim Fagan, F.R.G.S. ; H. B. Earle Fox ; Grant R. Francis ; Mellor Lumb ; William Sharp Ogden, F.S.A. ; H. Alexander Parsons ; The Rev. Edgar Rogers, M.A. ; Edward Shepherd ; W. Beresford Smith ; Samuel M. Spink ; Henry Symonds, F.S.A. ; H. W. Taffs ; Frederick A. Walters, F.S.A.

*Exhibition of Ancient Seals and Allied Work of the Seal-Cutter.*

Mr. H. Symonds.—A charter by Ralph D'Aumarle, dated in the thirtieth year of Edward I., 9th August, 1302. The armorial seal is perfect, and shows the three crescents borne by the D'Aumarle family, with the name of the owner of the seal.

Dr. Philip Nelson.—Three seals here reproduced :—



I.—SEAL OF SIMON DE GUIBERVILLE, CHANCELLOR OF PARIS UNIVERSITY, 1303-09.

**S' SIMONIS DE GUIB'VILL' CANCELLAR' PAR'.**

Beneath a canopy are standing figures of the Blessed Virgin and the Archangel Gabriel, above whom is the Sacred Dove, and between them the Lily-pot. This seal was exhibited, January, 1849, before the Royal Archæological Institute by Mr. Allies, F.S.A.



2.—SEAL OF JOHN PAYN, ESQ. XV CENTURY.

**SIGILLVM IOHIS PAYN ARMIG'I.** A helm bearing an antelope's head surmounting a shield. A chevron ermine between



three leopards' heads, impaling quarterly : 1 and 4 a fesse ermine between three spur rowells, 2 and 3 a chevron between three . . . ?



3.—CAPITULAR SEAL OF MAN. XVI CENTURY.

SIGILLVM CAPITVLI SIVE CLERI INSVLÆ DE MAN. Map of the Island with parishes named, in the centre is the Triskelis armoured and spurred.

Mr. H. Fentiman for Mr. S. M. Spink.—The following original seal-matrices :—

Canterbury : Seal of the Officialty of the Cathedral,  
*Sede Vacante*, 1644–1660, in bronze.

Norfolk : Seal of the Commissary of the Archdeaconry of Norfolk, late sixteenth century, in silver.

Hereford : Royal seal for Ecclesiastical Causes, time of Henry VIII., in bronze.

Bedford : Seal of Hadley Cox, Archdeacon of Bedford, about 1770, in bronze. A second example in silver, about 1778.

Clyffe, Kent : Seal of the Officialty of the Jurisdiction of the Free Parish of, sixteenth century, in bronze.

Chichester : Seal of Henry King, Bishop 1641-1699, in steel, with a long handle.

Kent : Tax-collector's seal for the duty on cloth in the county of Kent, about fifteenth century, in bronze.

Oxford : Seal of the Archdeacon of Oxford, late seventeenth century, in silver.

Stafford : Seal of Nath. Ellison, Archdeacon of Stafford, 1682, in bronze, with a wooden handle.

Scaleres : Seal of Matilda de Scaleres, thirteenth century, in silver.

Martin : Seal of Martin Fitz-Andrew, fourteenth century, in lead.

Minerva : Seal set with an antique intaglio of the head of Minerva, English work of the thirteenth century, in silver.

Edward I. : Subsidy seal for the tax on Wiltshire and Berkshire for the exploration of Wales, in bronze. Found near Manton.

Weymans : Seal of Joan Weymans, eighteenth century, in silver.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence.—Ring of James I.'s time, bearing a boar's head between the initials I.R.

Impressions of the first and second great seals of Queen Victoria and of the seal of "Aelfric," of the time of Æthelred II.

Mr. W. J. Andrew.—Roman ring in bronze bearing a device in scroll-work. Found at Colchester.

Fourteenth-century English ring bearing the initial T surmounted by a ship, in bronze.

Fifteenth-century ecclesiastical ring of the Cross and Five Holy Wounds, in three precious metals representing the Trinity.

Twelfth-century annular bronze brooch, inlaid in gold with a long inscription as yet unread. Found in London, and from the Frederic Spicer collection.

Thirteenth-century bronze and gilt brooch, recently found in making a street by the gas-works, Winchester, inscribed **✠ GE 2VI DON AMOR** (Norman French for *Je suis don d'amour*).

Examples of fourteenth and fifteenth-century brooches of similar character.

Major Freer.—Parchment deed by Henry VI., dated the 22nd of January in the "1st year of our reign," and bearing an impression of the seal of the Duchy of Lancaster. The following is the translation kindly made for the Society by Miss Ethel Stokes :—

Henry, by the Grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, to all who shall see or hear these our letters, sendeth greeting.

Know ye that we of our especial grace and in consideration of the good and acceptable service done and hereafter to be done to us by our well-beloved and trusty Knight, Rauf de Shirley, have granted to him

the office of Master Forester of our Chase and Parks of Leicester, to have the said office to the said Rauf for term of his life, together with the fees, wages, and all other profits to the same office duly accustomed, as fully and in like manner as John de Stanley, Knight, held



the said office whilst he lived. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Given under the seal of our Duchy of Lancaster at our Palace of Westminster on the 22nd day of January in the first year of our reign.

**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 18TH, 1915.**

£436 7 0

£ s. d. £ s. d. C.R.

£ s. d. £ s. d. C.R.

£2,316 10 3

## AUDITORS' REPORT:

*November 26th, 1915.*

W. BERESFORD SMITH, } Auditors.  
ALFRED TARVER, }



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OF

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- 1907. ABERDEEN, THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, P. J. Anderson, Esq., M.A., LL.B., Librarian, Aberdeen, N.B.
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- 1914. ALLWORTHY, THOMAS, Esq., 127, King's Cross Road, London, W.C. 1.
- 1906. AMERICAN NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, THE, 156th Street, West of Broadway, New York.
- 1903. ANDREW, W. J., Esq., F.S.A., The Old House, Michelmersh, near Romsey, Hampshire.
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<sup>1</sup> This list is revised up to June 30, 1918.

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